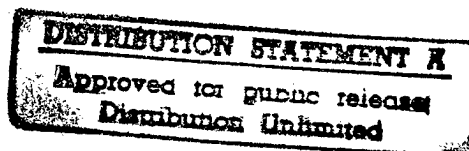


JPRS-EER-91-113  
1 AUGUST 1991



# ***JPRS Report***



# **East Europe**

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# East Europe

JPRS-EER-91-113

## CONTENTS

1 August 1991

### ALBANIA

Hoxha's Son Denies Reports of Family Fortune [BASHKIMI 21 Jul]	1
Editorial Launches National Unity Party Paper [KOMBI 11 Jul]	1
Right To Carry Weapons Against Lawlessness Urged [BASHKIMI 17 Jul]	2

### BULGARIA

Emigres Protest Against Clause in Land Law [DEMOKRATSIYA 24 Jul]	4
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### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Constitutional Court Preparations in Brno [PRAVDA 27 Jul]	5
FRG's Vltava Takes Over Czech Regional Press [RUDE PRAVO 26 Jul]	5
Protesters Demand Suspension of Dam Construction [CTK]	5
Czech, Slovak Social Democrats To Join Forces [Prague Radio]	5
Slovak Claims of 'Unequal Federation' Disputed [PROGRES 25 Jun]	5
Call for Enhanced German-Slovak Ties [CTK]	6
Results of Poll on Nation's Future Analyzed [SVOBODNE SLOVO 13 Jul]	6
Daily Conducts Poll on Federative State [SVOBODNE SLOVO 29 Jun]	7
Undecided Voters Alleged To Be in Majority [PROGRES 25 Jun]	10
Daily Claims Media Neglect Important Issues [OBCANSKY DENIK 10 Jul]	11
Arms Said 'Smuggled' to Hungarians in Slovakia [SMENA 26 Jul]	11
Siemens Seeks Joint Venture With Skoda [SVOBODNE SLOVO 12 Jun]	12

### HUNGARY

Gypsy Organization Holds Meeting in Budapest [MAGYAR HIRLAP 29 Jul]	13
Kata Beke on Evolution of Party Since Lakitelek [MAGYAR HIRLAP 27 Jul]	13
Joint Ventures Boost Trade With Romania [MAGYAR HIRLAP 29 Jul]	14

### POLAND

FRG Foundation's Aid to KLD, Other Efforts [PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY 2 Jun]	15
Activist Views German Minority Issues, Treaty [PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY 23 Jun]	16
Electoral Law: Sejm, President's Views [TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC 28 Jun]	17
Ombudsman Assesses Role, Government Cooperation [GAZETA WYBORCZA]	20
Peasant Social Organization's Plans Summarized [SLOWO POLSKIE 20 Jun]	22
Informers' Identity Needed Before Elections [ZYCIE WARSZAWY 3 Jul]	23
Reorganization of Ministry Proposed [ZYCIE WARSZAWY 3 Jul]	24
Goals of Industrial Development Agency Noted [RZECZPOSPOLITA 25 Jun]	24

### ROMANIA

Moldovan Prime Minister Muravschi Interviewed [22" 21 Jun]	26
Romanian, Moldovan Foreign Ministers Meet at Border [Bucharest Radio]	27
Iliescu Receives Lawyers' Delegation [ROMPRES]	27
Liberal Factions Merge in Cluj [ROMPRES]	28
Flood Disaster Report; Death Toll Grows [ROMPRES]	28
Relief for Flood Victims Organized [ROMPRES]	28

**JPRS-EER-91-113**  
**1 August 1991**

**2**

**YUGOSLAVIA**

Weekly Calls for Change in Croatian Policy [TANJUG] .....	29
Split Paper Criticizes Croatian Inefficiency [TANJUG] .....	29
Government Commission Assesses War Damage [NEODVISNI DNEVNIK 6 Jul] .....	29
Slovene Chamber of Economy Helps Enterprises [DELO 6 Jul] .....	30

**Hoxha's Son Denies Reports of Family Fortune**

AU3007085191 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian  
21 Jul 91 p 1

[Letter by Sokol Hoxha: "In Connection With the Report About 'One of the World's 300 Richest Families'"]

[Text] We too inevitably learned from the press about the report that the Hoxha family is one of the 300 richest families in the world. It seems that Italy's Radio Two, on the basis of a book about the world's 300 richest families, has mentioned us as one of them. It goes without saying that all this is happening on purpose, now that every kind of euphoria is accompanying our opening to the outside world. Nevertheless, I have no intention of producing any explanation or evidence of the truth, not only for the reason that nobody is interested in the truth and absurdity and sensationalism are more to people's taste, but because of the very important fact that we are totally unprotected against the accusations leveled against us, in front of all circles in society, the government, the president, and therefore in front of the people too.

Public opinion has become inflamed to an intolerable degree. However, while not claiming protection from anybody, I feel under an obligation to provide the true version of the story, which you are at liberty not to believe.

I sincerely admit that we lived with the privileges that the government and the monist system allocated to us. We were little children at first, but we became used to these privileges as we grew up, until we did not realize the gulf that separated us from ordinary people, something that I have thought about a great deal, thanks to the democratic developments that led to the overthrow of the cast of privileged residents of the compound [housing for party leaders]. I am now an ordinary citizen, and only my former privileges trouble my conscience.

However, I have never permitted myself or my family conscious abuses, appropriations, or especially embezzlement at the people's expense. Never! If it is a matter of gold, this is something that people like to imagine we possess. However, any observant person rejects this. It seems to me that the press is wasting time on this issue and is distracting attention from today's truly painful problems. This so-called "fortune" does not worry me as a citizen, as a cadre, or as Enver's son. What worries me is the excessive expenditure made by us, for us, and to our own detriment.

As for the large expenditure for medical treatment abroad, however naive and incredible it may appear to you, this did not depend on us and we did not even know how large were the bills the doctor sent.

As the problem appears today, it is clear that there were many abuses and misappropriations evident in the medical documentation, at a time when we ourselves lived at

the level of official standards and our purely private expenses had nothing to do with the figures on medical bills, which only the doctor and the Health Ministry knew about, but which have weighed heavily on our consciences since we have become aware of them.

As for our need to answer today for the good things we enjoyed in the past, I am ready to ask forgiveness from suffering ordinary people. As for my own life and that of my wife and children, apart from the average levels of comfort generally enjoyed by those who have studied abroad, we live at the social and economic level of the entire people. Society will soon become polarized, and it will be clear who will become rich and who will not, and who had wealth and who did not.

It only needs a little patience.

Therefore, to reply to the press, I in general agree that an investigation to expose the Hoxha family fortune should be started, whether by an Albanian official commission or by foreign experts, by some institution of private investigators abroad, or by secret agencies of world banking or industrial espionage. Let them tell us how much we have and where. The excuse that we have used false names does not hold water, because they too have been announced publicly.

Meanwhile, the history of world culture knows of no case of millionaires in a country so painfully poor. Such a thing might have been possible, if we had been of royal blood since way back when, or if we had involved ourselves in illegal drug or arms trafficking.

Nevertheless, because I do not think the matter has been exhausted, I turn to public opinion, as the newspaper BASHKIMI has demanded, to ask the National Stability Government and the president himself to discover and make known the truth about this shocking news, and to start investigations with the Hoxha brothers themselves.

With respect, Sokol Hoxha.

**Editorial Launches National Unity Party Paper**

AU3007101991 Tirana KOMBI in Albanian 11 Jul 91  
p 1

[Editorial: "A Tribune of Pan-National Aspirations"]

[Text] KOMBI, organ of the National Unity Party, appears today for the first time, at a time when the hour of democracy has struck in Albania, when the Albanian people, in their new era of pluralism, are unfolding their aspirations for freedom, brotherhood, and social progress, aspirations that they hid deep in their national awareness, where the administration of the Enverist dictatorship could not touch them. The National Unity Party and its newspaper are born out of the urgent need of the times, in which our nation is more than ever threatened by old and new wounds, wounds that have now grown putrid and painful must not be allowed to

become gangrenous, wounds that bleed and bleed incessantly, as in the unstoppable hemorrhage of the exodus that has now sapped the strength of the whole of Albania for more than one year.

KOMBI will speak its mind strongly, shedding light on the dark history of this century, in which the rights of the Albanians have been cruelly violated. It strongly condemns the antinational policies that isolated the Albanian state from the Balkans, Europe and the world in the name of Marxism-Leninism, which delimited by force and sealed off with barbed wire the mother country, and spiritually truncated even that rump that was left to us in 1913, when Albania was shorn of Kosovo, Cameria, and other territories. It will unmask the jesuitical, inquisitorial, medieval, and obscurantist policies pursued by the Albanian Workers Party and its leaders, who staged the fearful scenario of the class struggle at the expense of the Albanian people, this most monstrous physical and spiritual massacre that was a modern-day crusade with riders of the Hitler-Stalin-Enverist kind. In the name of Bolshevik atheism, religion and its institutions were abolished, and the representatives of different religions were persecuted. Criminal hands were laid on the invaluable ethnic and cultural heritage of our churches, mosques, dervish lodges, and monasteries, and even on pagan temples, all of which our people built down the centuries with labor and sacrifice. All these crimes were committed solely to pull down and destroy the idols and gods of nature, and to exalt the absurd idols of monism above the ruins of national culture. A curse on those who defaced the people's sacred beliefs!

The National Unity Party and its newspaper, like all the opposition parties and their press, are born at the Albanian people's most fatal moment, when the always poor but proud Albanian has been almost reduced to beggary, solely in order that the "victorious" ideological banners of the Albanian Workers Party could flutter. They are born out of historical necessity, when our country is suffering the most serious kind of crisis, that of trust in the future, and when economic destitution is forcing Albanians to sell what is dearest to them, their origins and their nationality, on the highways of the world. They are born in order to break once and for all the long silence under which our national cause has been buried, and in order to reawaken and raise high the awareness and national feelings of Albanians throughout the world. They are born out of necessity, at the precise moment when Kosovo and other areas in Yugoslavia inhabited by indigenous Albanians, through their independence and their republic that emerged from the Kosovo Assembly, are calling a halt to genocide; and when Cameria is no longer a hidden aspiration of the Cam people, but part of the all-national problem.

The National Unity Party and KOMBI denounce the pseudo-unity preached and enforced by the Democratic Front, that massacre of the people in the name of the "people." It will strongly attack such positions that undermine the foundations of the true unity of our nation, will unmask all divisive tendencies, and will

always support those political forces that aim to build the common state for which Albanians have always dreamed. KOMBI's aim, with its articles in the democratic spirit that the times demand, will be for not just Albania, but the Albanian nation, to advance directly toward a united Europe.

KOMBI appears today for the first time on the true battlefield for the rapid democratization of our country's life, alongside its opposition counterparts. It will be alongside you Albanians wherever you are, within and beyond the homeland, in good and ill. It will listen to and amplify your voice. It will be a tribune for pan-national aspirations and interests....

### **Right To Carry Weapons Against Lawlessness Urged**

*AU2607154891 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian  
17 Jul 91 p 1*

[Article by Viron Gjymshana: "Should the Sale of Arms Be Legalized, or Should All Weapons Be Confiscated?"]

[Text] This question may scandalize many people and perhaps not without reason. This problem is as delicate as it is contradictory. However, we are all witnesses of the fact that real anarchy has enveloped the country. It seems that there are no more laws, and arbitrariness and force have taken their place. Crimes and acts of violence are spreading fast. Delinquents have become emboldened beyond all limits, hooliganism has become the moral norm, and theft has become official. Thefts are committed in broad daylight, in the middle of crowds, and people see them, but remain silent because they are afraid. Woe betide anyone who interferes. Even things that have never been customary among Albanians are taking place, such as the rape of women, while people and houses are being stripped of articles of value. Worried people ask whether this is democracy. No, this is not democracy, but chaos and anarchy, and democracy is "guilty" of this in only one sense: It is like the salve spread on a septic wound in order to permit the poison to leave it.

The origins of these phenomena lie in the dictatorial state that brought poverty and turned the police into an appendage of the state security service, so that it now finds itself taken aback by this new situation. Plenty of excuses are offered: We are not armed (when we have everything but atom bombs); we do not have enough personnel (when we must have double the number necessary if they were only dedicated to their noble duty of preserving the lives, honor, and property of citizens); we do not have laws (although we have always had laws, even laws that sent you to prison for 20 years for a single word); we do not have houses (this is an excuse not to work), etc. etc. However, one truth is this: When there is general slackness among people, the government and parliament cannot demand 100-percent efficiency only from the police.

Meanwhile, under circumstances in which the police are incapable of securing order and calm for the people, it is necessary for every citizen to be in a position to defend himself, and to be armed. Then the "brave lads" of today, who are terrorizing people individually or in groups, will sober up at once.

In fact, when we talk about the arming of the population, and the right of all those who have come of age to carry arms, we are talking about the arming of honest people,

because the terrorists, criminals, bandits, and others that cannot be categorized are the best armed, and not only with knives and chains, but usually with [passage incomplete in original].

The people, fair and honest individuals, will not be able to use weapons without exceptional reasons. Anybody who abuses the right to carry arms will be brought before the law, lest it should become necessary to confiscate all weapons.

**Emigres Protest Against Clause in Land Law**

AU3007103791 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian  
24 Jul 91 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Bulgarian Emigres Reject the Land Law"]

[Text] Over 80 Bulgarian emigres living in Germany, the Netherlands, the United States, France, Great Britain, and Sweden have protested against Article 34, Paragraph 4 of the Law on the Ownership and Use of the Land. Dimitur Panitsa, Elena Atanasova, Emil Boyadzhiev, Nick Bonev, Stefan Gruev, and many other descendants of ancient Bulgarian families are among them. A letter submitted to the daily DEMOKRATSIYA reads as follows:

*The undersigned Bulgarians living abroad are disappointed by the motherland's attitude toward them that transpires from the Law on Ownership and Use of the Land, which was adopted in February 1991. According to Article 3, Paragraph 4 of this Law, we are not entitled to own private farmland in Bulgaria, and, if we inherit such land, we are obliged to sell it or turn it over to our relatives living in Bulgaria within three years. This is how we are once more discriminated against and treated like foreigners, as we were treated during the totalitarian regime for the past 45 years.*

*At the beginning of the democratization process in Bulgaria, Bulgarians abroad were recognized as Bulgarian citizens and even urged to take part in the first free elections. Confident that the democratic process in our homeland would be irreversible, the majority of us took advantage of our right and voted either in Bulgarian diplomatic missions abroad or in our former residences at home. During the past difficult months that our country had to go through, many of us collected and organized humanitarian aid for the Bulgarian people, who were suffering from food shortages. On those occasions, the Bulgarian media praised us, calling us "patriots who have never forgotten their motherland," but today we are foreigners again.*

*Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed ladies and gentlemen, such an attitude is not only unjust but is also not even in conformity with the democratic principles to which you aspire. We sharply protest against the aforementioned article of the Land Law, and we insist that it be repealed. Do not leave us with the impression that we are considered Bulgarians only as long as our votes are needed and as long as we help the country.*

Copies of the letter were sent to the president's office; the National Assembly; the Union of Democratic Forces; the Bulgarian Socialist Party; Bulgarian Television and Radio; and the dailies SVOBODEN NAROD, VEK-21, and DUMA.

### Constitutional Court Preparations in Brno

AU3007183491 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Jul 91  
p 2

[CTK report in the "Briefly From Home" column]

[Text] Brno is becoming the judicial center of Czechoslovakia. Following the decision to locate the Constitutional Court here, as of 1993 the Supreme Court will also operate in this city. This information was made public at yesterday's press briefing in the New Town Hall. Leopold Nedomansky, head of the Constitutional Court Office, told journalists that this institution will begin its normal operations on 1 January 1992. The original proposal to make 150 million korunas available for the first stage of constructing the Constitutional Court has been reduced to 50 million korunas.

### FRG's Vltava Takes Over Czech Regional Press

AU3007094591 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech  
26 Jul 91 p 13

[Report by Vitezslav Havlicek: "Two PRAVDA's With Bavarian Flavor"]

[Excerpts] It may have escaped the attention of some readers of the regional newspapers in Plzen and Ceske Budejovice when these newspapers changed their publisher less than two months ago—from the Delta state enterprise to Vltava, Ltd.

It is hard to deduce from the purely Czech name of the new publisher that it is owned by foreign capital. The owners of Vltava Ltd. are press representatives from neighboring Passau in Bavaria. Based on Bavarian experience and recommendations, the Bavarian spirit is soon to find its way into both PRAVDA's, which is what both regional newspapers were called in the past. [passage omitted] Both newspapers continue to be sold under that name. [passage omitted]

Apart from taking over the two dailies formerly published by Delta, Vltava Ltd. has also taken over the publication of 12 district weeklies published in the southwestern border region. In the near future it intends to offer a new daily in Karlovy Vary, which is to be printed in Plzen. [passage omitted]

In a few localities the new Vltava publishing house has found a competitor in another limited liability company. This company distributes in six border districts district newspapers under the common title ZAPADOCESKE NOVINY [West Bohemian Newspaper]. Of the district newspapers' 16 pages, nine, including advertisements, are common to all of them and seven are prepared separately in each district. Here, too, a careful reader will notice that, even though the company is based at Sokolov, it is financed from Bavaria, this time from the town of Hof. This is also where the 40,000 copies of the six district newspapers are printed. [passage omitted]

### Protesters Demand Suspension of Dam Construction

LD3007183991 Prague CTK in English 1638 GMT  
30 Jul 91

[Text] Bratislava July 30 (CTK)—Slovak and foreign protesters against the hydroelectric Danube power plant at Gabcikovo want construction suspended until a decision on its future can be made based on independent analysis, Slovak environmentalists told a press conference here today.

A representative of the civic initiative "Euroretaz" (Eurochain) in Samorin, southwest Slovakia, denied that groups opposed to the project are paid by foreign countries, namely Hungary, but acknowledged close contacts with environmental organisations in Hungary and Austria.

Euroretaz members and other environmentalists from southwest Slovakia yesterday sent a petition to the Slovak government protesting what they called "illegal" filling of the derivation canal with water, the representative said.

Other Czechoslovak experts and Federal Assembly deputies, who were present at the press conference, argued that completion of the Gabcikovo power plant would save forests in the region which are suffering from a drop in water levels.

Controversy surrounding the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros twin dams came to a head in 1989 with Hungary's one-sided withdrawal from the project. Czechoslovakia has decided to complete the Gabcikovo part on its territory.

### Czech, Slovak Social Democrats To Join Forces

LD2907185691 Prague Ceskoslovenskiy Rozhlas Radio  
Network in Czech 1600 GMT 29 Jul 91

[Text] The Social Democratic Party in Slovakia and the Czechoslovak Social Democracy will go jointly into the next elections. This is what the chairman of the two parties Boris Zala and Jiri Horak agreed in Prague today. With regard to the attempts of the right to recall Alexander Dubcek from the post of Federal Assembly chairman, both representatives voiced their support for Mr. Dubcek. They see in him guarantees for democratic development.

### Slovak Claims of 'Unequal Federation' Disputed

91CH0717B Prague PROGRES in Czech 25 Jun 91 p 2

[Article by Cestmir Bara: "A Blow Below the Belt"]

[Text] The Czech government has received a blow below the belt, fraternally administered by the government of the Slovak Republic, and a well-aimed blow at that—generally pretty words for the ears of Slovak voters regarding consumer goods; this evokes the impression in



the Czech Republic that the Czech government is incapable of doing something for people and that it is not capable of defending the interests of the citizens of the Czech Republic. What the government of the Slovak Republic will use to pay for or compensate for the general price reduction is clear—the federation will provide subsidies and these financial components will primarily stem from resources which the Czech Republic has saved. The Czech Republic is paying twice and the Slovak Republic, for the time being, is only promising. Things are similar with regard to the validity of votes: The vote of a Czech voter has virtually half the value of a vote by the Slovak voter (a provision which prohibits a majority vote)—and the Slovaks continue to yell that they are living in an unequal federation and that they are being oppressed by the Czechs. Even I have the impression that the government of the Czech Republic does little to protect the interests of us citizens of the Czech Republic, that Slovak demagoguery continues to be on the rise, that it continues to approach socialist ideology regarding a balanced sharing of bad times. Constantly more voices are heard in Slovakia which defend and noisily assert extremely national Slovakism. It is known even to people who are ignorant of the economic macro-structure that monopoly manufacturers in Slovakia were supplying only their commercial organizations, supplied them on a priority basis with items which, in the Husak era, were being discontinued in the Czech Republic or were being transferred, on a monopoly basis, to Slovakia—anyone who needed a refrigerator or freezer, a washing machine or a television set, or another item had to go to Slovakia—we even saw toilet paper from Slovakia only sporadically. This is how we ended up in this joint state. We will most likely again pay for price reductions on consumer goods in Slovakia; here, we can only obtain them at greater expense—let us therefore ask who is worse off and let us ask who are those who wish to preserve the federation under these conditions at any price, or we can speak of the blinding of the Czech representatives by Slovak megalomania and extreme Slovakism, which continues to be insulting and attacks us and accuses us of everything which fails in Slovakia, or whatever comes to mind.

And so I am pondering one thing: Are we such [Good Soldier] Svejks that we would let someone split firewood on our backs? Is this joint state still worth it to us at this price? At the price of having to continue paying for Slovak excesses, ultimatums, accusations of exerting oppression through coarse impertinences, and I again ask who it is that is interested in despoiling the good reputation of the Czechoslovak Republic abroad in the meantime? Our Slovak brethren can purchase consumer goods cheaply and find themselves in the minus column suddenly with respect to Czechoslovak money and the federation will grant them additional subsidies; in other words: they continue to receive and give nothing back to the joint enterprise. We Czechs are actually only half as many as there are Slovaks, judging by the validity ascribed to votes and to the buying opportunities in the Czech Republic, but, of course, the Slovaks continue to

be oppressed by us. In the Czech Republic, we have people who are unemployed, we do not have sufficient work for our own people, but we continue to employ Slovaks and yet they themselves continue to claim that they are compelled to work in our country, that we could not master the situation without their help—and the Czech Republic, moreover, makes adjustments to their income taxes. How then do the Czech representatives protect the interests of Czechs, Moravians, and Silesians?

The Slovaks have already provided us with one lesson—that of 1939—and we most likely continue to have heeded that lesson sufficiently; however, today, this situation could repeat itself at any time.

### Call for Enhanced German-Slovak Ties

*LD3007213791 Prague CTK in English 1928 GMT  
30 Jul 91*

[Text] Bratislava July 30 (CTK)—Visiting Chairman of the German-Czechoslovak Society in Bavaria, Klaus Rose, at a press conference here today called for expanding German ties with Slovakia.

Rose, a CDU/CSU [Christian Democratic/Christian Social Union] member of the Bundestag, praised the fact that German firms, such as Hanomag, Volkswagen and Siemens, have already opened offices in the Slovak Republic. On the subject of a possible breakup of the Czechoslovak Federation, Rose said that to preserve a balance in Europe it would be better to prevent the creation of small and not very viable states.

Rose said further that Germany protects the interests of the Sudeten Germans because they are its citizens, but German policy is not only the policy of the Sudeten Germans, he said, adding that a solution acceptable to both sides must be found.

Rose began a three-day visit to Czechoslovakia in Bratislava yesterday. Earlier today he was received by Jan Klepac, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council.

### Results of Poll on Nation's Future Analyzed

*91CH0720A Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech  
13 Jul 91 p 3*

[Article by r: "You Have Provided Advice for Your Politicians"]

[Text] On Wednesday, 19 June, and again on Saturday, 22 June 1991, we printed 19 questions, which Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic, posed to representatives of political parties and movements at a working meeting at Kromeriz on 17 June of this year. We wrote to you and said, "Answer these questions for yourselves," and we then received 7,054 letters!

The broad response compelled us to ask the Center for Demoscopic Research in Prague to process the results of

the public inquiry. We published the first results of the work of this center just two weeks ago, and we found out that the readers of our newspaper—participants in the inquiry—were in agreement with respect to their views regarding the future arrangement of our state, irrespective of whether they were from Bohemia or from Moravia. A difference in attitudes occurred only with respect to the question of a possible triple federation—Moravians and Silesians agreed by a majority (62.2 percent); votes from Bohemia were only half in agreement (48.8 percent).

The analysis performed by the Center for Demoscopic Research further indicated that many readers find the content of the legal concepts incomprehensible and showed the need for the communications media to use a popular form for explaining the advantages and disadvantages of all variables involved in the constitutional arrangement.

According to the analysis, letters accompanying the responses to the questions also reflect a relatively strong lack of confidence in the political representation of Slovakia with a number of readers, who consider it either to be inscrutable, inaccessible, or of such a nature that the consequences of its interpretations tend to point in the direction of a partitioned state anyway. This motivation is nevertheless fairly frequently attributed to that very political representation rather than to the Slovak nation per se.

The results clearly indicate that many citizens favor the retention of the unified state, but, being fed up with the political tug-of-war, are ready to initiate its partition. The majority of the participants in the poll quite clearly favored a federal arrangement in accordance with the example of united Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, with the proposals for the prepared number of individual republics within the federal state varying. Support for a three-part model predominates, that is to say, Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia; a proposal for a four-part arrangement, in which Silesia would also figure as an independent country, is heard less frequently. In contrast, those voices expressing support for a two-part federation to be transformed into a federal arrangement were represented to the minimum extent. In considering a union-type arrangement, which was favored by two-thirds of the respondents (whereas only one-third favored a federation), you considered the claim made by Moravia and Silesia to be quite natural, and you gave preference to the territorial principle over the national principle. With relative frequency, however, you even represented the view which assigns preference to a provincial arrangement: the retention of a single president, a single parliament, and a single government. On the other hand, the proposal for a confederation did not find any support in your views.

What is clear, however, is that the absolute majority of readers who participated in the poll perceive the need to change our state arrangement as an essential one in any event.

On the question of a state treaty, only a few of you expressed your views, but you always rejected the possibility that it would have a greater legal force than the federal constitution.

The absolute majority of responses adopted a positive position with respect to a referendum, not only as a method which would permit a decision regarding the eventual partition of our state, but also as the primary institution that should be used in all key questions of the future of the state. What is interesting is the fact that some of you demanded that a referendum be held only in Slovakia—clearly fearing that, under the present situation, the majority of Czechs, Moravians, and Silesians would vote for the separation of both republics.

As far as tolerant negotiations are concerned, which would lead to agreement, this showed up only rarely as one of your demands. Far more frequently, you placed emphasis in your letters on the uncompromising acceleration of all discussions, as well as stressing the priority of the jurisdiction of the Federal Assembly over the existing discussions of the various political coalitions.

A number of you made use of the poll to express your political views, which had no direct connection with the topic at hand. For example, many of you disagreed with the existing name of the state, with the majority of you preferring the original CSR [Czechoslovak Republic], or possibly Czechoslovakia, without a hyphen.

By far most frequently we found your letters to contain expressions of confidence in the president, partially also in the Federal Government, but, on the contrary, they contained a number of reservations regarding the Federal Assembly. Many of you feel a lack of confidence in, or even antagonism for, Mr. Sladek most of all, and relatively frequently even involving the leading Slovak politicians—particularly M. Knazko, V. Meciar, J. Carnogursky, J. Markus, and others.

We were pleased to find that your letters frequently stressed your satisfaction over the opportunity of being able to express yourselves with respect to important problems of the state and that you regarded this opportunity as an element of democracy which cannot be overlooked, much as you regarded the publication of the results of the poll. The editors wish to once more thank all those who participated in the poll—for the letters as well as for how deeply they feel regarding the fate of our state.

#### Daily Conducts Poll on Federative State

91CH0718A Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech  
29 Jun 91 pp 1, 3

[Article by SVOBODNE SLOVO: "You Have Provided Advice for Our Politicians"]

[Text] Some 10 days ago and then again a week ago, we printed the questions asked by our president and the answers provided by representatives of the political

parties at Kromeriz—and we offered to also publish readers' views. When the mountains of letters changed into dry numbers, we found out that, until yesterday, we received responses from 3,930 readers from Bohemia and 3,124 readers from the Moravian edition of our newspaper.

We shall not manage to evaluate the entire topic until a few days from now; you responded also to question number 19 which requested specific proposals covering future progress. For today, then, we present only your responses—in percentages—which we are augmenting, for comparison purposes, by figures representing the

percentage expression of views of the parties from the Kromeriz conference, particularly views by parties of the Czech Republic (CR) and the Slovak Republic (SR). (Note: The totals do not always agree because the parties did not respond to all of the questions.)

The left half of the yes-no column shows the percentile responses of political parties of the Czech Republic at Kromeriz (CR) and political parties of the Slovak Republic at Kromeriz (SR).

The right half of the yes-no column shows the percentile responses of our readers in Bohemia (C) and our readers in Moravia (M).

1. Are you in favor of a federative arrangement for the CSFR?					
	Yes	No		Yes	No
CR	91	—	C	90.6	9.4
SR	67	11	M	92.9	7.1
2. Are you in favor of dividing our federation into two independent states?					
CR	—	91	C	9.5	90.3
SR	—	100	M	4.5	91.1
3. Are you in favor of another (that is to say, a looser, for example, a confederative) connection between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic?					
CR	—	72	C	4.5	92.5
SR	33	44	M	5.8	90.1
4. To the extent to which you favor a federation, do you recognize its continuity as an entity under international law and do you want to rebuild it on the foundation of today's federation and in conjunction with today's valid Constitution in such a manner that it becomes more functional from the standpoint of the two republics and of the joint state?					
CR	100	—	C	90.3	6.5
SR	67	—	M	91.2	7.2
5. Do you wish to forge a joint state (without regard to how the type of connection chosen is named) from the beginning, that is to say, by establishing two independent republics and by their subsequent treaty joining into a new formation, even with the consequences that this would disrupt the internationally legal continuity of the present state?					
CR	—	91	C	3.9	95.2
SR	11	67	M	5.5	89.2
6. Do you favor having the constitution which is being prepared facilitate a transformation of the present dual federation into a triple federation or a communal state having three or more fully equal members?					
CR	72	27	C	48.8	49.5
SR	11	56	M	62.2	35.7
7. To the extent to which you favor this change, do you believe that such a state arrangement should be based on territorial principles?					
CR	81	9	C	49.6	32.4
SR	11	22	M	63.3	23.5
8. To the extent to which you favor federation, do you believe that the fundamental and supreme law of a federal state must be a federal constitution, which is binding on all of its members?					
CR	100	—	C	92.5	3.6
SR	56	11	M	96.4	2.6
9. To the extent to which you favor federation, do you agree that the principal elements through which the new constitution will define a joint state and its domain should be:					
a) Defense and security for the land?					
CR	100	—	C	93.2	2.2
SR	67	—	M	97.4	2.0

b) Foreign policy?					
CR	100	—	C	93.5	2.2
SR	67	—	M	96.5	2.2
c) A single currency (that is to say, a single bank of issue)?					
CR	100	—	C	93.4	1.7
SR	67	—	M	97.6	0.8
d) A unified system of taxes and customs duties?					
CR	100	—	C	93.1	2.4
SR	44	—	M	96.5	1.7
e) A basic legislature?					
CR	100	—	C	93.5	2.1
SR	67	—	M	96.4	2.2
f) Jointly administered energy, railroad, and telecommunications networks?					
CR	91	—	C	9.5	3.0
SR	33	11	M	96.8	1.6
g) A common head of state?					
CR	100	—	C	93.8	1.8
SR	67	—	M	97.6	0.8
h) A joint federal government?					
CR	100	—	C	92.9	2.8
SR	67	—	M	96.4	2.3
i) A directly elected federal assembly?					
CR	100	—	C	92.4	3.0
SR	67	—	M	95.7	2.4
j) A federal constitutional court?					
CR	100	—	C	92.4	2.9
SR	67	—	M	95.8	2.4
10. Do you agree with having the remaining jurisdictions divided among the federation and the republics in accordance with the presently valid jurisdictional law, with the possibility of making selected transfers in both directions?					
CR	81	9	C	86.2	7.4
SR	56	22	M	88.5	7.9
11. Do you agree that two national councils should conclude a treaty on the principles of the federal constitution and present it to the Federal Assembly as a manifestation of their joint desire to preserve a joint state and as a joint legislative initiative?					
CR	72	27	C	83.7	11.9
SR	44	11	M	82.6	13.4
12. Do you believe that the treaty between the national councils on the principles of a federal constitution is not enough and that a state treaty must be concluded between the two republics which exist today, which will then be binding on the Federal Assembly?					
CR	—	100	C	12.4	80.7
SR	33	44	M	9.4	82.0
13. If you favor the conclusion of a treaty between the two national councils regarding the principles of the federal constitution, do you condition your agreement with the requirement that the Federal Assembly first adopt a special constitutional law on the adoption of a new constitution, which would empower the national councils to conclude such a treaty and which would, at the same time, obligate the Federal Assembly to be governed by this treaty in formulating and approving the federal constitution?					
CR	9	54	C	41.6	49.4
SR	22	22	M	39.6	54.0
14. If you are for this treaty, is your approval conditioned by the requirement that the federal constitution contain a clause which states that the treaty will become effective only after ratification by both national councils?					
CR	9	45	C	38.6	48.6
SR	78	11	M	38.8	49.7

<b>15. In the event that you are for a state treaty, do you agree that this state treaty should be consummated by a new federal constitution?</b>					
CR	18	—	C	26.0	50.6
SR	22	22	M	29.1	45.7
<b>16. If you are in favor of a state treaty, do you believe that it should have a higher legal force than the federal constitution or that it could directly replace a federal constitution?</b>					
CR	9	36	C	5.5	73.2
SR	11	33	M	4.9	72.9
<b>17. If, by establishing a federal council or by developing another method, the rights of the republics to return laws to the Federal Assembly for reworking is assured, do you agree with the supremacy of the Federal Assembly over the laws of the republics?</b>					
CR	100	—	C	82.1	11.0
SR	67	—	M	85.6	9.2
<b>18. Do you favor the introduction of a referendum as the sole means by which it is possible to decide regarding the possible partition of our state or the detachment of one of the republics?</b>					
CR	54	27	C	79.3	19.7
SR	78	11	M	76.4	20.6

### Undecided Voters Alleged To Be in Majority

91CH0717A Prague PROGRES in Czech 25 Jun 91 p 2

[Article by jb: "The Struggle for the Uncommitted Begins"]

[Text] As every sociologist knows, a "suitably" posed question evokes the desirable response, at least in a statistically significant number of cases. This is also the reason for handling a weapon such as the referendum with great care. Today, it is completely clear that, for example, the posing of the question "Do you desire an independent and self-sufficient Slovakia?" would result in a larger share of positive responses than would the question "Do you wish for Slovakia to break away from the current federation?" despite the fact that (particularly from the viewpoint of Prague) these questions might appear to deal with identical topics.

Nevertheless, professional sociological investigations should avoid suggestive and imprecise questions (that is to say, questions which tend to offer prior answers), because it is possible to accept their results as a base, with a certain degree of probability. Thus, in March, according to data provided by the Sociological Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, 7.8 percent of respondents in the Czech Republic clearly opted for the right and 27.2 percent were more inclined toward the right, whereas 4.1 percent of the respondents (or 14.4 percent) opted for the left. Nevertheless, this does not mean to indicate that the right can rest on its laurels. The concepts of the right and of the left lost their precise meanings in our country during the time when they were not in use. But, above all, in this investigation, 46.5 percent of the respondents questioned opted for the center, something which, under our conditions, could truly mean something. It is more likely that these people are the uncommitted who, following the socialist experience, do not believe in the left, but who, at the same time, have the seeds of the ideological arguments against

the right in their subconscious. And these are the voters that must be fought for. The fact that this battle has already begun is attested to by the most recent May investigation, this time conducted by the Institute for Public Opinion Research, aimed at eliciting political preferences, expressed by the potential election of one or another party or movement. On the one hand, there is a clearly growing liking for Klaus' ODS [Civic Democratic Party] (it would be elected by 17 percent of the electorate), on the other hand, there is the express ascendancy of Mr. Sladek (5 percent). People like simple and direct solutions and not everyone realizes that those who offer these things to them in the guise of demagoguery will never be able to fulfill them. This is dreadfully apparent in Slovakia. A hypothetical coalition consisting of the former Communists (SDL), nationalists (SNS [Slovak National Party]), and Meciar's HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia] would be voted for by some 68 percent (!) of the voters (15.15 and 38 percent, respectively), whereas the KDH [Christian Democratic Movement] dropped from 21 percent in March to a mere 8 percent in May. The solution is self-evident. Day-to-day political work, convincing and, primarily, efforts to solve the most burning problems so that room for demagoguery of all types would be narrowed to the maximum possible extent. It is not without interest that, according to another investigation by the Institute for Public Opinion Research, the interest of citizens in solving such questions as lustration, relationships with neighboring countries, the Constitution, or internal political disputes has declined; on the other hand, the forefront of their interest is occupied by a strengthened "position" (as far as the urgency of solution is concerned) of the economic reform, criminality, unemployment, and the standard of living. It will not be slogans regarding a return to Europe, but proposals for specific solutions to these problems that will gain the favor of voters. It is only up to the politicians themselves as to the extent to which they will present realistic proposals or whether they will be concerned solely with votes and future power.

### Daily Claims Media Neglect Important Issues

91CH0716A Prague OBCANSKY DENIK in Czech  
10 Jul 91 p 3

[Article by Pavel Cernocky: "Where Has the Silent Majority Disappeared To?"]

[Text] When, in the spring of last year, the first signs of Slovak separatism appeared, the majority of Czech and Slovak politicians dismissed them with a wave of the hand and a claim that nationalist fervor would wane with the advent of the economic reform. Developments to the present time have proven the above-mentioned politicians of being guilty of the thorough failure to understand Slovak problems. Today, it is already clear to everyone that the solution of Czech-Slovak relationships is job number one.

I am very sorry that I cannot share the mild optimism of our president. Public opinion polls clearly indicate that the number of Slovak citizens who wish for either complete independence or a confederation—something which is unacceptable to the Czech side for practical reasons—has risen since spring from 33 percent to 39 percent. (Thirteen percent favored independence and 26 percent favored confederation.) Thus, including those who hesitate, the number of Slovak citizens who are seriously contemplating independence runs around 50 percent. The strongest political party, which is currently in opposition to the present Slovak government, is supported, according to the most recent data of the Institute for Public Opinion Research, by 38 percent of the citizens, and those opposed to Prime Minister Meciar even number 80 percent. Thus, I truly do not see any reasons for optimism. While it is possible to claim that the glass is not half empty, but rather half full, this will not alter much of the situation.

Considerations regarding a silent majority are evermore looming as being illusions. In other words, I do not wish to solve questions of constitutional arrangement, but intend to pause over the activities of the communications media. In view of the fact that Czech-Slovak relationships are truly the number one question, I am convinced that both the newspapers and also radio and television are devoting inadequate space to this problem. It seems to me that our communications media have a tendency, completely in line with the customs of the previous regime, to minimize problems and to paint them only in rosy hues. This can be more dangerous than painting the Smichov [war memorial] tank. We should learn a lesson, say, from British journalists regarding the necessity to inform people of the entire truth, even though it is unpleasant. I believe that Czechoslovak television should consistently inform its viewers both of Slovak nationalistic meetings and also presenting, say, pictorial material from the Sladek demonstration in front of the television building in the Kavci Hory Mountains.

Naturally, I can understand the directions which considerations of responsible television officials are taking.

They are convinced that listing the naked truth would only increase tensions, intolerance, and that the citizen is simply not yet ripe enough to form his own opinion. The question is whether this consideration is correct? How is the citizen to learn independent and responsible thinking as long as someone constantly leads him by the hand.

It is necessary to solve the question of Czech-Slovak relationships with dispatch. I would seriously wish for Czechoslovakia to remain together, but, on the other hand, I admit that the only thing which scares me more than the breakup of the republic as early as this year is its breakup, say, in two years down the road. If our continued economic development can be seriously threatened by anything, then it is primarily the lack of internal stability within the country.

It is necessary to hold a running debate regarding our future. Such a discussion will uncover irresponsible and incapable politicians and will clarify the views of citizens—something which is essential to occur prior to a possible referendum. It is the duty of state television then to make the maximum amount of space available to this exchange of views in its federal circuits—even at the expense of repeating old films and stupefying serials.

### Arms Said 'Smuggled' to Hungarians in Slovakia AU3007072791

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 26 July on page 1 carries a 500-word report signed "pan" on a news conference held by representatives of the Slovak National Democratic Movement [SNDH] in Bratislava on 25 July. One of the speakers at the SNDH news conference claimed that weapons are being "smuggled" to the Hungarian-populated "southern Slovakia." On the same page, Bratislava SMENA carries a 100-word response by Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner to the above claim.

The relevant passage in the SMENA report on the SNDH briefing reads: "We avail ourselves of information—and [Slovak] Minister [of Interior] Pittner knows about it—that pistols and submachine guns, some of them even of Israeli make, are being smuggled to southern Slovakia," Lieutenant Colonel Peter Socha, chairman of the Association of Slovak Soldiers and SNDH adviser, said at yesterday's SNDH news conference. Asked for whom these weapons are intended, he said: 'I cannot state with responsibility for whom but it is apparent that they are not intended for Slovaks. This compels us to be concerned.'"

Asked by SMENA to comment on Lieutenant Colonel Peter Socha's assertions made at the SNDH briefing, Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner says: "I do not know why Lieutenant Colonel Socha is so sure that I know about this. It is true, however, that we do have sporadic information on the movement of weapons and that we watch these movements. The weapons in question are not Israeli weapons, however. There really were a few cases but they were only chancy and were still

connected with [the stay of] Soviet soldiers. I am not aware of any Israeli weapons being smuggled to southern Slovakia."

### **Siemens Seeks Joint Venture With Skoda**

91CH0719A Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech

12 Jun 91 p 3

[Article by ks: "What Is It That Siemens Really Wants?—Insecurity at the Plzen Skoda Works"]

[Text] For a number of long months now, foreign capital has been competing for the goodwill of the Plzen Skoda Works. As the negotiations are becoming protracted, various conjectures, fantasies, and unsubstantiated information have shown up among the employees as well as among the public. And if we add to this the dissolution of the East European market, the fear of unemployment, and a shortage of orders, it is not surprising that insecurity is rampant among the workers and technicians at the engineering giant Plzen.

In recent days, Wolfgang Breyer, the press spokesman for the Energy Production Division (KWU) of the Siemens Concern, with headquarters at Erlangen—in other words, a representative of one of the foreign partners who have a great deal of interest in collaborating with the Skoda Enterprise—traveled to Prague in order to deny some of the alarming reports.

It is said that Skoda is having difficulty in obtaining orders. Siemens, on the other hand, has so many new orders that it must intensively seek a partner to help with the orders. In strong international competition, for example, Siemens obtained a contract for the delivery of gas-fired steam technology for a power plant in Tehran worth billions. Additional orders have recently been destined for an electric power plant in Dubaj and in Leningrad, and a combination of gas-fired and steam turbines are even the object of a "turnkey facility" for a power plant near Rye House in south England. It is for this reason that Siemens/KWU is offering our Skoda Works coproduction, and is bringing employment for people.

"We have an interest in long-term collaboration," says W. Breyer. "For us it is not decisive that we have a deciding share. We want to proceed on the basis of the notions held by the Czechoslovak partner. If we are offered 30-percent participation, we shall be content; if we are offered more, we shall also be content. It is not our goal to own a decisive majority share. We are prepared for various forms of participation and we are willing to negotiate regarding them."

The whispering campaign also talks of the fact that Siemens intends to produce only that which it needs in Plzen and wants to eliminate Skoda-based research. Mr. Breyer also rejects this claim: "Siemens/KWU wants to cooperate not only in production, but in research. Joint research, the exchange of know-how, and other forms of close cooperation will be advantageous for both sides; they save time and money. And, finally, a third possibility is the joint marketing of products. Skoda will, naturally, retain its traditional markets, but we could enter some new markets together, perhaps as a consortium. The world trend is toward ever greater utilization of a combination gas and steam turbine because this kind of technology is advantageous from the ecological standpoint. In this area, we could share our tasks."

Siemens/KWU has been cooperating with Skoda for a considerable length of time already in the area of nuclear power plants, and because rich experiences are on hand regarding this type of production at Plzen, it might be possible to continue along this road. Siemens has already created a consortium with Skoda, and they jointly offer a solution for the Bratislava II Electric Power Plant, which is scheduled to deliver both electric energy and also heat. And, finally, it is not possible to forget the area for the production of ecological equipment. Even here there are many topics which are suitable for mutual cooperation.

In other words, Siemens/KWU offers employment, a clear future, the necessary reputation, and capital. Of course, the competition is not asleep at the switch, so decisionmaking is difficult. Time marches on inexorably and people in the workshops and offices of the Skoda Concern at Plzen are beginning to be impatient....

### **Gypsy Organization Holds Meeting in Budapest**

*AU3007184891 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP  
in Hungarian 29 Jul 91 p 4*

[MTI report: "Representation in Parliament!"]

[Text] On Saturday [27 July], the Phralipe Independent Gypsy Association held its third Gypsy solidarity day in the cultural center on Almassy Square. Richard Lewis Baltimore, official at the U.S. Embassy in Budapest, opened the national cultural and political meeting of Hungary's Gypsy community. Baltimore stressed that the Gypsy community's efforts to stop discrimination and prejudice served the interests not only of national minorities, but also of the majority population. The Gypsies' aim is still to consolidate an awareness of Gypsy identity and to strengthen a Gypsy community feeling.

This year, the Roma [Gypsy] Parliament participated in the preparations for the meeting, representing 21 different Gypsy organizations. The Roma Parliament presented the petition that it is handing in to the Hungarian Government and Parliament. In this petition, the Roma Parliament explains that the civil rights movement of Hungary's Gypsy community is fighting for the human, constitutional, and national minority rights of Gypsies. Gypsies would like to help the majority population build a democratic state of law. However, Gypsies would be able to do more for their homeland if they had the possibility to learn.

The petition demands parliamentary representation for national and ethnic minorities, and it demands that a bill on national minorities be presented to the parliament by the end of September. The petition also calls for 2 billion forints from the parliament's employment, retraining, and formation fund to be spent on the formation, retraining, and employment of Gypsies.

Gypsy poets and writers also addressed the meeting, which lasted the whole day.

### **Kata Beke on Evolution of Party Since Lakitelek**

*AU3007183091 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP  
in Hungarian 27 Jul 91 p 4*

[Interview with Kata Beke, parliamentary faction member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Miklos Karpati; place and date not given: "Kata Beke: Break Between Political Parties and Society"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Text] Kata Beke belongs to the rebel wing of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's [MDF] parliamentary faction. Reacting to the statements made at an MDF meeting in Lakitelek [location of the first opposition roundtable talks under the former regime, birthplace of the MDF] last week, she told our correspondent:

[Beke] The MDF started off as an honest and beautiful movement, but on the first day after our electoral

victory, we should have introduced a policy of strict and objective self-criticism. That is the only way to evolve.

I was not present at last week's MDF meeting in Lakitelek, so I have formed an opinion on it through press reports. We need self-criticism rather than celebration and beautiful words. At the most, I would agree with what Finance Minister Mihaly Kupa and Defense Minister Lajos Fur said in Lakitelek; the rest embitters me. Unfortunately, many people do not realize that the real division is not between political parties, but between our political parties and our society. This was already proven to me at the local elections, when 61 percent of the population did not turn out to vote. The situation has only deteriorated since then. Yet nobody promised a miracle, and I do not think anybody expected a miracle.

[Karpati] So what has led us to the present situation?

[Beke] People—particularly those who live off their wages and salaries—really find themselves in an extremely difficult situation. Moreover, we have not yet had any real dialogue with our society, and many people have not experienced the change in our lives since the change of regime, the new style that exists today. Hungary did not have a parliamentary democracy for one and a half generations. It is understandable that we lack political culture and preparedness. Many people do not even know the difference between legislative power and executive power. That is why people sometimes think that it is Parliament that increases prices.

[Karpati] What solutions could you envisage?

[Beke] I am still a government party representative today. I think that we should clarify our tasks within our own faction before we discuss them at plenary sessions. Unfortunately, my suggestions in this respect are not very popular. At the same time, I notice that the best people have lost their enthusiasm, and careerists have appeared around our election-winning party. That is why I stress that we need an objective evaluation rather than orations and self-satisfaction. We should not let hatred spread, either. There are some people in my own party and in the ranks of the opposition whom I can only call blockheads when I think about them. Unfortunately, they are the most vociferous ones, and they immediately jump at each others' throats. At the same time, more than 200 representatives keep quiet and do not behave like that, but they are not noticed as much as the loud ones. We have to learn the rules of parliamentary behavior. I think that this parliament is much better than it appears to be. A lot of representatives really work hard to help us progress. There are various solutions. Some of us believe, and we have not started saying this just now, that an unprincipled iron discipline is not the key to our solution; we need doubts that will provoke further thought. It seems that we are not very successful in propagating this belief.



### Joint Ventures Boost Trade With Romania

AU3107102991 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP  
in Hungarian 29 Jul 91 p 8

[Interview with Erika Torzsok, leader of the Alliance of Free Democrats minority group, and Marton Gajzago, entrepreneur in Transylvania, by L.Z.S.; place and date not given: "Can a Hungarian-Romanian Joint Venture Help?—Szeklerland at a Dirt Cheap Price...."—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpt] Is it possible to give a boost to Hungarian-Romanian economic relations by organizing it from below? If yes, then how? The given opportunities should and could be utilized. However, we would need more than the efforts of the private sector to do this.... Among other things, our correspondent spoke about this issue with Erika Torzsok and Marton Gajzago.

[L.Z.S.] A gathering in Szeged at the beginning of July that provided a forum for Romanian, Slovak, and Hungarian entrepreneurs makes this interview timely. Rethinking the events of this gathering, the time might have come to draw the conclusions....

[Torzsok] This was the third such gathering. The first one was in Budapest in November 1990, with Romanian and Hungarian participants. Some Slovaks also came to the second gathering, in February 1991. This event took place in Brasov [Romania], with more than 250 participants and it attracted a lot of attention. The common lesson of the three gatherings was that the situation of the ordinary members of society is very important in the countries of our area. The prevailing efforts toward a bourgeois development in Hungary from the beginning of the 1980's have gradually produced the framework

through which people's enterprising spirit could somehow take shape. Today, after the so-called change of regime, we can see that the new government did neither harm nor good to Hungarian economic life. Even though all obstacles to enterprises had not been removed, some activity started and a multitude of small businesses were established.

[L.Z.S.] How can all this be connected to Romanian-Hungarian economic relations?

[Torzsok] While many economic measures that the government should take are delayed, society—that is, the ordinary people—use the opportunities that were forced out of the prevailing government. People do not wait for politicians to say something. They do not wait for that in Romania, either, although, I must add that economic laws have recently been passed in Romania which regulate joint ventures and foreign investment. It is true that these have existed in Hungary for a while now.... The societies of these two countries do not wait for big governmental decisions. The delay of these decisions contributed to the drop in trade between these two countries. This is moderated by the fact that people seek cooperation even within the limits of the given regulations. They are willing to come to gatherings like this one in Szeged at their own cost and initiative, not on higher instruction, and to get to know each other and to uncover the obstacles to a broader cooperation. Many hundreds of Romanian-Hungarian joint ventures have been established by now, although they only have a limited amount of capital. Therefore, the problem is the lack of capital, that is the underdeveloped state of financial institutions. This is more valid for Romania than for Hungary. The rules allow these private joint ventures to borrow from financial institutions, but there has not been any precedent of this so far. [passage omitted]

**FRG Foundation's Aid to KLD, Other Efforts**  
*91EP0602A Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY*  
*in Polish No 22, 2 Jun 91 p 6*

[Interview with Hans Georg Fleck, director of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation office in Poland, by Tomasz Markiewicz; place and date not given: "Aid to the Liberals"]

[Text] [Markiewicz] The Polish office of the Naumann Foundation was opened last January. What is the reason for your interest in our country?

[Fleck] We are a political foundation associated with the liberal orientation in the FRG, represented by the FDP [German Free Democratic Party], the party of the liberals. The foundation was established in 1958. At the time the other FRG parties also were establishing their own foundations, such as the Konrad Adenauer Foundation of the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] and the Friedrich Ebert Foundation of the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany], both of which began cooperating with Poland ahead of us. In addition to popularizing the views of their parties, these foundations had the objective of fostering civic education and disseminating the principles of democracy in Germany and abroad. We established contact with Poland in 1984. We intend to assist East Europe in creating a parliamentary democracy and a market economy. In addition to our office in Warsaw, this year we opened offices in Prague and Budapest. Soon now we shall open offices in Moscow and Bucharest.

[Markiewicz] What are the foundation's intended objectives in Poland?

[Fleck] Our work abroad is always oriented toward supporting liberal structures in a society, especially as regards civil rights and also as regards political and economic structures. We desire to share with Polish politicians, scholars, and managers our experience in modern European liberalism. We intend to focus on such problems as the operation of local democracy, the operating principles of the free market, social security in a situation of capitalist competition, cooperation between local and central governments, and the role of the state in a free market economy.

[Markiewicz] How do you assess the chances of the liberal orientation in our country?

[Fleck] Contrary to appearances, this is not a novel orientation on Polish soil, although it lacks here historical traditions in the form of an organization. This historical background does not facilitate our work. It is always easier to build on tradition than to build something from the scratch. This is of special importance in Poland, where thinking often follows historical criteria. I believe that in Poland, despite the absence of a tradition of organized liberalism, the political and economic system will develop precisely in that direction, as a natural effect of the evolution of liberalism in West

Europe. Besides, I have noticed that in Poland there are many people desirous of the onset of a liberal and tolerant democracy based on a free market economy. Therefore, the future of liberalism in your country is not paintable in gloomy hues.

[Markiewicz] Has your foundation by now found partners in Poland?

[Fleck] We have fairly well-developed contacts with the KLD [Liberal-Democratic Congress], and we are a sponsor of Dr. Jan Szomburg's institute in Gdansk, which is close to that party. In the past we established cooperation with the Democratic Party, and we want to continue it. In addition, we are working with the Conservative-Liberal Party, the Union of Democratic Youth, and the Forum of the Democratic Right. We desire to familiarize our partners with the achievements of not just German but the entire European liberalism. We also are establishing cooperation with political groupings of other orientations. This is promoted by the discussion meetings held once a month in Warsaw, to which we invite representatives of various orientations.

In addition, we want to promote Polish-German reconciliation and greater mutual knowledge. We shall sponsor scholarships and organize conferences, seminars, and information-gathering trips for journalists, businessmen, politicians, and youth activists. For this year we are planning a vacation meeting of young liberals from both countries.

[Markiewicz] The present government is, for the first time in our history, headed by a liberal. Is Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki availing himself of your counsel?

[Fleck] We provide advice to whoever desires it. Mr. Bielecki visited Germany last year at the invitation of our foundation. Mr. Lewandowski also took part in the information-gathering trip. Our cooperation with the KLD is progressing well, and I believe that it shall continue to be so. The fact that liberals are heading the government is a plus sign for the growth of this orientation in Poland, and it is becoming obvious that here the prime minister's party [KLD] has a special role to play. The fact that the leading representatives [of the KLD] have accepted political responsibility demonstrates that the liberal party is making a substantial intellectual contribution to the political and economic system. Please bear in mind that in no country do the liberals have a mass party, yet in many countries they take an active part in political rule. Many of the planks of their program are being implemented in the West by Christian-democratic and social-democratic governments.

[Markiewicz] Don't you fear that in cooperating with your foundation Polish liberals may hazard the accusation of receiving foreign funds?

[Fleck] As I stated before, we work not only with political parties but also with the organizations close to them. For example, we do not support any party in elections: That

would be against our principles. Were we to do anything like that, we would be in trouble with German ministries, which monitor the manner in which we spend our funds. I hope that in the future a foundation set up by Polish liberals will become our partner. I believe that it shall arise.

[Markiewicz] Your adversaries often point to the gap between liberalism and Catholic social teachings.

[Fleck] It is true that in the past liberals in many countries had been in conflict with the Roman Catholic Church. They could not accept the fact that the church is spreading its norms and dogmas among the society. Liberals believe that everyone has the right to proclaim his beliefs but that they may not be the norm for the entire society. Hence, they are in favor of a tolerant system that allows for human foibles. That is why a society that is to better its condition cannot be subordinated to any single world outlook. In the democratic society, liberals are guardians of the rights of the weaker ones, of the rights of the minority, because the protection of these rights is the basis for a genuinely democratic system.

#### Activist Views German Minority Issues, Treaty

91EP0602B Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY  
in Polish No 25, 23 Jun 91 pp 4-5

[Interview with Dietmar A. Brehmer, German minority activist in Upper Silesia, by Tomasz Markiewicz; place and date not given: "A Bridge"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Markiewicz] What is the size and the organizational structure of the German minority in Poland at present?

[Brehmer] Two years ago the first German Circles of Friends [Deutsche Freundschaftskreisen, or DFK] began to operate in Opole Silesia and Katowice Voivodship. According to our figures, 326,000 Germans were registered. I assume that the actual number may be greater—as many as 700,000. This does not apply to Opole Silesia, where, in the countryside, anybody who felt himself a German has applied to join the DFK. That our actual number may be greater is evidenced by the fact that daily about 40 new candidates apply for admission to the German Work Community "Reconciliation and the Future" at its Katowice office.

[Markiewicz] Are there any concentrations of Polish Germans outside Silesia?

[Brehmer] The majority, nearly 90 percent, live in Opole Silesia and Katowice Voivodship, plus some in Cieszyn Silesia and in Lower Silesia. In Katowice, 62,000 persons were registered as Germans. Small groups live in Pomerania, Warmia, and Masuria, and also in Poznan, Lodz, and Krakow. Recently descendants of German colonists from the environs of Tarnow and Lublin also were registered.

[Markiewicz] You were one of the initiators of the organization of Germans in Poland. You have, however, many enemies both in Silesia and in Germany.

[Brehmer] True. In the fall of 1990 I arrived at the conclusion that we [Germans in Poland] should have our own representatives at the Polish-German talks. Hence, I initiated the formation of the Central Council of German Societies in Poland and was its secretary general. A difference in views on the status of our minority in Poland prompted my resignation. I was relieved of the office of secretary general of that council. Others who shared my views left with me. We established the Upper Silesian Charitable Society and the aforementioned German Work Community "Reconciliation and the Future," and we formed the Main Council of Upper Silesian Germans, which at present represents nearly 20,000 members of our organizations.

[Markiewicz] Polish public opinion is disturbed by the growing activism of the Association of Expellees [BdV, or Bund der Vertriebenen] in Silesia. How are your organizations different from that association?

[Brehmer] That activism of the BdV should be no surprise. Please bear in mind that for many years it had been the sole organization concerned for the interests of the minority. It also was the first to establish organizational structures of Germans in Poland and had been accepted by the German minority. In this case the primary factor was not the fact that it used to be the sole organization, but that it was the common origin of activists, along with frequent links of family and friendship. I personally could not accept the BdV's attitude toward recognizing the present Polish-German border and the demands for special privileges for the minority in Silesia, which would antagonize relations with Poles. The BdV is rather reluctant to accept political realities.

[Markiewicz] How do the organizations in which you are active view mutual Polish-German contacts here in Silesia?

[Brehmer] Our starting premise was that it is not worth it to live with a constant feeling of being wronged. Wrongs were done on both sides, and no one denies this nowadays, but the future has to be thought of. We [Polish Germans] must live here, and we desire to live here, but this is possible only in the presence of concord rather than discord with the Polish population. The German minority has an opportunity for becoming a bridge linking Poles and Germans. Here in Katowice, in a big-industry district, Germans are living in a diaspora, and they had lived there as a minority even before the war. Our natural orientation is cooperation with Poland rather than isolation. But Opole Silesia, on the other hand, used to be part of Germany before the war, and besides, it is an agricultural, not industrial, region, and the Germans there are rural dwellers and know each other well. They are linked by a common fate, having suffered much. Hence they are mistrustful, and it is harder to convince them about many things. In a dozen

or so townships they are the majority and have their own councilmen, and often they do not sense to the same extent as we the need to cooperate with the Polish population.

[Markiewicz] Considerable controversy is being aroused by the financial assistance provided to Germans in Poland by the FRG Government.

[Brehmer] In Germany, in the Federal Government, and also in the governments of the laender and in the Bundestag as well, the prevailing view is that the German minority should receive financial assistance on the principle that it will also benefit the Polish population with which it is cohabiting. Much is also being done in order that the money from the German taxpayers be transferred not to the bank account of the BdV but directly here to Silesia for specific purposes. I hope that this assistance will serve above all to rescue our region.

[Markiewicz] What are the accomplishments of the organizations in which you are active?

[Brehmer] The Upper Silesian Charitable Society provides supplementary meals for children. Each day, 12,000 hungry children receive a hot meal. This is still too little: 36,000 children are starving in Silesia. They are chiefly children from the families of alcoholics. We help everyone regardless of nationality. Similarly, courses in the German language are open to everyone, not just to Germans. Our work community has recently proposed establishing a reconciliation [joint German-Polish] high school. This has been favorably received at the Ministry of National Education. That would be a secondary school for Germans and Poles.

[Markiewicz] A recent sensation has been the launching of a German-language radio program by your Work Community. How have listeners responded to the first broadcast?

[Brehmer] The broadcast would not have been possible had not it been for the positive response of the management of the Katowice Polish Radio Station. Our first ultra-shortwave broadcast was transmitted on 5 June. For the time being we are scheduled to broadcast for an hour once a week. The reactions varied. At first we received telephone calls lambasting us for not speaking the best German and for not having yet left Germany. But we also got some touching calls. Elderly ladies called to say they were grateful for German, Silesian songs recalling to them their youth. Of course, we are selective about these songs and reject any that had been sung by the SS or the Wehrmacht or have unpleasant associations. Through these broadcasts we desire to win over the Polish society to the cause of [Polish-German] reconciliation. There are signs that we will also be able to broadcast on the local television there, which is even now broadcasting a German-language RTL [expansion unknown] program via satellite. We also intend to publish our own periodical, OBERSCHLESSISCHE RUNDSCHAU.

[Markiewicz] What were you feeling at the moment of the signing in Bonn on 17 June of the Polish-German Treaty of Cooperation and Good Neighbor Relations?

[Brehmer] That was the happiest day in my life. Had anyone told me as recently as two years ago that such a treaty would be signed and liberties to the German minority would be granted, I would not have believed him. This treaty to me also means a certain obligation. I would like to do everything in my power to change the negative image of the German in Poland. That image has been tendentiously conveyed through these postwar years in literature, in cinema, in school. I am not the only one. There are Germans here and in the FRG who want to help Poland. The treaty guarantees our rights at the European level. These rights should be utilized so as to promote reconciliation.

### Electoral Law: Sejm, President's Views

91EP0629A Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC  
in Polish No 26, 28 Jun 91 p 10

[Article by Piotr Semka: "Crosses, Letters, Electoral Law—What Is It All About?"]

[Text] For two weeks now there has been an ongoing dispute about the draft electoral law between the Sejm and the president of the Polish Republic. After the Sejm had accepted the presidential veto of the first draft of that law, it passed a second draft on 15 June (by 222 to 57 votes). The new draft did not allow for the president's four demands. On 20 June the Senate supported the president's reservations (by 45 to 33 votes).

On 21 June, following the reception by the Senate, the Sejm rejected the four presidential postulates concerning the electoral law. These four disputed issues are as follows:

- Personalization of elections.
- A uniform procedure for counting votes both in multi-seat districts and for the national list.
- Political affiliation of the electoral office.
- The problem of the president's powers to influence the electoral timetable.

Despite the frequent comments that this is a storm in a teacup, the choice of particular electoral-law solutions is based on reasons decisive to the model of Polish parliamentarianism. Below we wish to explain what is involved and present the arguments for and against the four disputed issues. Quite a few people claim that this is "a dispute between the elites," which the man on the street does not understand. Such judgments stem from failure to treat voters seriously. We do not wish to duplicate this mistake.

### 1. Personalization or Depersonalization?

This is the most serious issue in dispute. Below are the positions of both sides.

The Sejm draft specifies that on the ballot the voter must draw a cross only next to the name of one of the candidates. In contrast, the president proposes that on the ballot the voter may draw a cross next to either the name of the candidate or the name of the party.

In the Sejm draft the ballot is invalid if the cross is drawn only next to the name of the party. In the president's draft the voter is free to draw the cross either next to the candidate's name or next to the party's name.

The Sejm draft obligates the voter to make a personal choice by voting for the individual candidate (the "personal option"), whereas the president proposes that the voter can choose between the individual candidate and the individual party (the "party option").

Each of these two approaches refers to a different scale of priorities in political life.

The supporters of personalization stress that the public is weary of parties. The differences in the programs of various parties are obscure. The parties themselves still contain many warring factions, with many having the negative image of being "couch parties" [i.e., parties so small that their members can be accommodated on a single sofa]. It is pointed out that the recent elections to local governments showed that the voters are interested in candidates as individuals rather than as party members ("without party labels"), the decisive factor being personal trust. Therefore, it is argued, the public is antagonistic toward parties and so voting for individuals rather than parties should be made possible. The personal option enables voters to influence parties and is a counterweight to their ambitions. Its supporters point out that this option exists in British parliamentary elections. They also voice the belief that the personal option will prevent a situation in which the political game is played behind the scenes.

The opponents of personalization claim that strong parties are the basis of parliamentary democracy. It is the major parties that create a stable alignment of forces in the parliament. They argue that the personal option results in fragmentation of the Sejm, thus preventing the emergence of a parliamentary majority and hence also creating problems in the formation of governments and making the Sejm's activities unpredictable. The party option, in contrast, strengthens the discipline within the caucuses of deputies, and this impedes the disintegration of blocs into smaller and smaller parliamentary groups that, owing to their quarrels and disputes, impair the dignity of the parliament. The opponents of personalization also point out that, whereas it operates in Great Britain in the context of a parliamentarian tradition that is several hundred years old, in Poland the democratic system is still in the embryonic stage, and therefore French electoral law, which prefers strong groupings, is a

better model for it. They claim that the worst peril to a young democracy is to become a laughing stock owing to the paralysis of the Sejm by internecine warfare.

### 2. The Problem of Uniform Ballot Counting

The Sejm draft provides for a system of counting the ballots from 391 multiseat districts that is different from the system used to count the ballots for the 69 seats on the national party lists. In contrast, the president proposes for a uniform system of counting the ballots from both the districts and the national party lists.

The Sejm draft is based on the assumption that the two separate counting methods are more equitable because they are adapted to different electoral techniques. The assumption behind the president's draft is that the adoption of a uniform counting system based on the Sainte Lague method gives preference to medium-sized parties, thus eliminating smaller groupings and preventing the fragmentation of the Sejm. The uniform method is easier to understand and facilitates the work of the electoral commissions.

### 3. Affiliation of the Electoral Office

In the Sejm draft the electoral office is attached to the Sejm, whereas in the president's draft it is attached to the Office of the President. The Sejm reasons that attaching that office to the speaker of the Sejm ensues from the authority of the parliament. The counterargument in favor of the president is that the electoral office must be linked to the president because he is the highest authority in the state and is derived, unlike the Sejm, from democratic elections. Moreover, some of the incumbent deputies will be up for reelection, and a situation in which the candidates supervise their elections themselves is unacceptable.

Besides, the president's supporters argue, attaching the electoral office to the Sejm is foreign to European parliamentary practice, and moreover such an office already exists under the president and, according to Senator Stepień, relocating it would cost half a billion zlotys.

### 4. The President's Possible Influence on the Electoral Calendar

The related assumption behind the Sejm draft is that the president's powers may skew the political balance between the Sejm and the Belweder ["White House"] in favor of the Belweder. The president proposes to be empowered to alter the timing of elections, on the grounds that, if the Sejm is tardy in passing electoral legislation, the president may shorten the 115-day timetable of preparations for the elections in order to adhere to the October deadline. Then the president will be able to order the elections earlier, e.g., in September, thereby shortening the term of office of the "contract Sejm" [that is, the present Sejm, in which, owing to Roundtable agreements, 65 percent of the deputies represent post-communist parties].

NOTE: The president's proposal does not of course include changing the electoral deadline (which is up to 30 October), which has been guaranteed in an amendment to the Constitution. Also inviolable is the deadline for the nominations of lists of candidates, which is two weeks prior to the elections. This is a so-called sacrosanct deadline, i.e., it cannot be breached without preserving the validity of the nominations.

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#### Other Arguments Between the "Personalists" and Their Opponents

The proponents of the "personal option" argue that if the voter can but does not have to vote for the individual candidates, in practice a large number of votes will be needed to alter the sequence. The opponents argue that the parties must have the right to determine the sequence on the lists—so-called preferences determining the chances for winning a seat. This results in strengthening the link between the deputy and the party he represents. However, they say, voters do have influence on changing the sequence on the list, since a candidate who wins at least 25 percent of the votes is entitled to a seat regardless of his position on the list.

The "personalists" argue that the "personal option" will encourage more people to vote, because "the voter likes to vote for particular individuals." Their opponents argue that the ballot would contain listings of a dozen or so parties, naming a dozen or so candidates for each party. For Warsaw, for example, they might number about 300. Given such a large and confusing number, many voters would find it easier to vote for parties than for individual candidates. The personal option requires [of the voter] that he follow attentively the electoral campaign and attend rallies. Not everyone has the time for that and many voters, being unfamiliar with the names of candidates, might select the first name they see on the ballot. Hence, voters should have the right to vote for parties, since names of individuals may mean nothing to them.

The "personalists" argue that the election of candidates by popular vote rather than their selection by party leaderships will cool partisan ambitions. It is the most popular persons who will be elected to the parliament. Their opponents claim that this would make it practically impossible to form electoral coalitions of parties and offer combined lists. By voting for individual candidates, voters determine who may become a Sejm deputy, and the results may often be fortuitous. Thus it will be impossible for parties to form an advantageous coalition—the lack of guarantees would especially affect the weaker partners.

Further, the "personalists" argue that the "personal option" means treating the voter seriously. To their opponents, this option is convenient to groupings of the

SdRP [Social Democrats of the Polish Republic, a post-communist grouping] type. For example, in the presidential elections [of last November] Cimoszewicz [a post-communist] won 10 percent of the votes, which showed that he can rely on a stable segment of the electorate. Hence, if the "personal option" prevails, the SdRP can expect to win a slightly higher proportion of votes in the elections this coming fall. The more fragmented the Sejm is (parties based on six or eight percent of voters), the stronger the standing of the SdRP may be. The only potential ally of the SdRP would be the OPZZ [National Trade Union Alliance, a trade union of communist origin].

Next, the supporters of "personalization" claim that their adversaries are groupings containing few distinctive political personalities. Their opponents argue that "personalization" would result in bickering among parties. The richer ones would be able to fund more effective campaigns. This would also favor demagoguery. In essence, the voters then would be voting not for the party program but for the candidates who have charisma.

To sum up, the arguments of the supporters of "personalization" reflect hostility or mistrust of political parties, whereas the arguments of their opponents reflect the desire to strengthen the party system.

[Box, p 10]

#### Political Options in the Conflict

In its vote on 21 June the Sejm rejected the four Senate-supported presidential postulates by the following voice votes (the numbers in parentheses pertain to the abstentions):

- Personalization of elections—268:88 (6).
- Uniform ballot counting—260:96 (8).
- Affiliation of electoral office—264:87 (7).
- The president's powers to alter the electoral calendar—264:95 (5).

The rejection of the amendments was supported by an overwhelming majority of the deputies belonging to the following parties and groupings: PKLD [Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left], the PSL [Polish Peasant Party], the SD [Democratic Party], the KPUD [Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Union], the SP [Labor Party], the UChS [Christian-Social Union], the Caucus of the Independents, PUSd [Polish Social-Democratic Union]. Supporting the amendments were the OKP [(Solidarity) Citizens' Parliamentary Club] and the PAX [Christian Social Association].

## Ombudsman Assesses Role, Government Cooperation

91EP0605B Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish  
29-30 June 91 pp 14-15

[Interview with Ewa Letowska, government spokesman for civic rights, by Wanda Falkowska; place and date not given: "The Savagery of the State"]

[Text] [Falkowska] You took office more than three years ago. How are human rights in Poland today?

[Letowska] Certainly political rights and freedoms are observed much better. There is no censorship, no seizures, and there is the freedom of assembly. But there still are problems with military service, just different ones than before. People are still fired in the style of "You know, you understand" [i.e. no reasons given], and my interventions in such matters are as effective as they were in the past in the case of purges. Moreover, the Human Rights Pact is also a pact of economic rights, like the right to housing, health care, etc.

Meanwhile, in these areas we are declining: Here and there salaries are paid in installments; health services by pay are being introduced without control; unemployment is rising. This is not so evident from the perspective of Warsaw, but try to be a female unskilled "work-horse" in a small town a hundred kilometers to the east.

### They See Everything Separately

The administration, like the awful bourgeois in Tuwim, sees everything separately, and does not realize that its decisions, though each one might in itself be correct, come together at the bottom. Imagine what a person feels when he finds out that he must pay more for electricity; at the same time, apartment payments rise by several tens of thousands [zlotys] because the land has been reassessed; his grandmother, who has earned her pension in agriculture, has been caught by the new pension system, and thus has less than she thought she would have; he pays full price for medicine in the pharmacy; and at work, he hears about forced layoffs. And thus the impression that "they" are arrogant, and don't care about "us." The ombudsman, meanwhile, has some 1,600 cases a month, some with the question "How can I live?"

[Falkowska] Are the authorities really arrogant?

[Letowska] Professional mistakes, lack of organizational imagination, and a kind of thick-skinned attitude are involved here. So, for example, the matter of laying off teachers. School boards are of the opinion that since it is not clearly stated in the Charter of Teachers' Rights that one must give a reason for layoffs, then it is enough to say "You're fired."

### Give Us a Break

The authorities do not know that they are arrogant, and thus are offended by such a description. When I send a

petition to the Constitutional Tribunal, people take offense: "Why didn't you call us before, why go straight to court, wouldn't it have been better to work this out between us?" No, it wouldn't be better. Everyone should do what the law requires him to do, in the correct way, and not over coffee. The principle of division of powers—or, more pompously, division of authority—requires this. And I hear: "You don't like our department." All this does not suit the standards of democracy.

[Falkowska] And what is the reaction of the offices to which you appeal?

[Letowska] The administration, judging from the means and methods of its cooperation with the ombudsman, is probably in a state of disintegration, from top to bottom. It was too easily believed that to want is to be able, and that everything will work out when people of a new orientation come to those offices. Unfortunately, goodwill and a mouth full of cliches are not enough. Good administrating is expert knowledge and the ability to foresee the results of one's own actions—especially those results that one neither expects nor wants. It is reason and culture, wise use of the law, desire and ability to work with people.

Meanwhile, everything is marked by just muddling through, any old way—haste, ignorance, and sometimes plain fear of responsibility. My God, what will come of all this? I get responses from ministers like "Jesus Christ, give us a break!" I get letters from local governments: "We were chosen by society, we are fighting with communism, and we will do what we want."

I think it is in one of Babel's short stories that Comrade Beiderman appears. He sits in an office full of petitioners; they are yelling, demanding various things, protesting, until finally that unfortunate soul stands and screams: "Comrades, if you love Soviet power, get out of here!" Cases are still not taken care of; instead, letters are answered, decisions are made or overruled. Bureaucrats are surprised because I expect them to use their heads, to look for alternative or unconventional solutions, and finally, if nothing more can help, to express their regret and apologies. It is interesting that it is much more agreeable to take care of a case with the "uniformed authorities" than with civil administration. In November, we sent to the minister of construction several dozen cases of people who were supposedly owners of real estate, but could not build anything because it was unknown if a development or a park might be built there in the future. Some of these cases have been dragging on for 30 to 40 years. This begs for some nonstereotypical action, at least some human talk. I've been grinding away at this bureaucratically for half a year. And there is no end in sight.

### I'm Not Picky

[Falkowska] Do you keep in contact with the president?

[Letowska] My office contacted [the president's office] in March to ask whether the president was interested in the

ombudsman's report that I was to present to parliament. We talked I believe with Mr. Siwek, and he was enthusiastic. Since that time, no one in the president's staff has shown a sign of life. Because I don't like to bother people unnecessarily, that's the way it ended. I go where I am invited, and I'm not picky.

[Falkowska] Lately there has been a profusion of legislative production.

[Letowska] This production is very bad. The old, obvious mistakes are being repeated. Though it is legal, the practice of enactment of laws during the year, retroactively in effect from the beginning of the year, is being abused. I wanted to attack this technique through the Constitutional Tribunal, but the decision sort of went unnoticed. The tribunal just did not want to follow that track. Too bad! Internal decisions, instructions, and unwritten laws are still abused. A brand new example: the requirement of surrendering the original copies of foreign documents of a car brought into this country. In the next few weeks, I will try to draw up a "report on legislative errors that have not been eliminated," on the basis of three and a half years of work. Then it will be revealed just how short the memories are of the ombudsman's correspondents.

#### A Monkey With a Saw in His Hand

[Falkowska] How did you take the decision of the Constitutional Tribunal in the matter of religious instruction?

[Letowska] I am still convinced that this matter should not have been regulated by a [ministerial] instruction, but by a law. Reading the justification of the tribunal's decision did not, unfortunately, dispel my doubts. The tribunal probably had the same doubts, since two weeks after issuing its decision it requested that the Sejm change the law which the instruction contradicts. In times of revolutionary changes, there is always the tendency toward legal nihilism: The old laws were bad as a whole, so we do not have to observe them. Only when we establish our own laws will we introduce legality. Great idea! The worst is that views of this sort are expounded by serious and distinguished people, judges and professors. If one ex cathedra encourages society not to respect the existing laws, then one will have to consider that [society] will not want to respect them later either, especially when it decides that they are inconvenient. Only a monkey, they say, has the habit of cutting of the branch on which it is sitting, if one hands it a saw. When it realizes what it is doing, it is already too late.

#### The Actions of Zealots

[Falkowska] Are we witnessing the phenomenon of clericalization in Poland?

[Letowska] I am getting disturbing signals, but maybe it is the action of zealots in a hurry to toe the line? There is

something in it, however. The discussion over the anti-abortion bill was conducted in a truly improper atmosphere. For example, the idea of resolving the question through a referendum was condemned. Of course, the referendum is the lame horse of democracy; it serves only to discover the opinion of the majority, and does not guarantee that the opinions of the minority will be respected. But one cannot say that a referendum is impermissible in the case of some law—and I want to emphasize this strongly: law, not moral issue. Even in Italy this matter was resolved precisely by referendum. Should we consider Italian society less moral? Or maybe more mature?

#### A Decent Person Keeps a Distance

[Falkowska] What do you think about the decommunization bill, which is supposedly in the works?

[Letowska] I have already written that it seems to me to be neither realistic, nor sensible. Several years ago I had problems with verifications conducted by the old crew, [which was saying] "You were in Solidarity, so out you go and that's it!" Once again I am protesting, writing, appealing. The new political authorities can change bureaucrats; that's normal. But you must tell a person why he must leave, present specific charges, allow the possibility of defense, and of appeal to a higher authority and to the court. Otherwise, legality is replaced by savagery, and the state ceases to have a civilized nature. And, after all, it is possible to imagine—this of course I do not wish anyone—that in a few years a new government begins the uproar all over again: "He was of Walesa's crowd, so throw him out and that's it!" Democratic politics is based on a simple principle: One must maintain a minimum of decency. In the present Polish version, it is often based on the principle that "we may do anything, because we won and our cause is just." Maybe we won, but maybe not yet completely? Maybe the cause is just today, but will not be just tomorrow? Maybe that which today we do with pleasure to a defeated opponent, those who come after us will do to us? Sensible professional politicians know that in a normal state you win sometimes, and you lose sometimes. No, I don't like this way we conduct politics today; more and more often it seems to me that someone who wants to be considered decent should keep a distance from all this. Even the GAZETTE has several times written some nonsense about me, then apologized, and the editor has declared, "Sure, we make mistakes, but we are people of goodwill." I don't doubt it, but to speak frankly, I prefer those people of goodwill who don't naively grab at the first bit of falsehood that some rascal puts in their heads.

#### And Then Goodbye

[Falkowska] The reflections of the spokesman for civic rights are so sad?

[Letowska] If some sociologist were to write a book about Polish society based on letters to the ombudsman,



it would be as fascinating reading as it would be appalling. Most letters are an endless cry: "Give to me!" Or even stronger: "Take from someone else and give to me!" If the ombudsman answers, "You don't deserve this because the law is not on your side," the reaction is usually thus: "This is a bad, communist law, and you are a communist lackey, out of office with you!" But I know why there is such a reaction, and I try to work like a hall nurse in a hospital: She also should not show disgust at the dirt.

[Falkowska] The ombudsman's term ends soon. What are your plans for the future?

[Letowska] I'm working my fingers to the bone, and I want only to bring this to the end in an orderly way. And then goodbye.

### Peasant Social Organization's Plans Summarized

91EP0595B Wroclaw SLOWO POLSKIE in Polish  
20 Jun 91 p 3

[Interview with Stefan Makowski, marshal of the "Wici" National Peasant Social Organization, by Konrad Makohonski; place and date not given: "'Wici,' or the Invisible Men: Has the Time Come To Dispatch Willow Twigs To Polish Peasants?"—first paragraph is SLOWO POLSKIE introduction]

[Text] I am talking with Stefan Makowski, Marshal of the "Wici" National Peasant Social Organization, which was established and is headquartered in Wroclaw. It was registered by a court in July 1990 and since then it has been active nationwide.

[Makohonski] Well, we have a new peasant organization, but its name and the leader's title abound in historical symbolism. How do you reconcile attempts to modernize farming with concern for the future of the countryside?

[Makowski] There is no contradiction involved. First of all, we are not continuators of the prewar youth organization Wici. We rather reach to an older Polish tradition, that is, the dispatching of willow twigs, or "wici," to summon knights to a martial expedition, and later to summon a levee en masse. Nowadays this term is interpreted as the rallying cry of a group of people in order to assist if not rescue our farming. As for historical titles, they sound pleasing to the ear, as for example, the "marshal" heading our organization ["marshal" appears to be a reference to the revered Marshal Pilsudski], the senator representing a voivodship, or an ensign residing in a gmina [township]. We apply the term "sejmik" [little Sejm, or dietine] to an occasionally convened general meeting of peasants on some important issue.

[Makohonski] This sounds really nice, although I doubt whether present-day peasants are sensitive to these historical traditions. I doubt also whether our countryside needs yet another organization, because there seems to be such a large number of peasant parties and groupings.

[Makowski] I don't agree with this observation, because Wici is not duplicating any peasant party or social organization. It is something completely different. When I had established Wici a year ago on the basis of a group of people concerned about rural issues, none of us had as the aim organizing a new mass peasant party. To this day I believe that Wici should not have more than 1,000 members. There were 11 of us in the founding group: In addition to farmers, we included professors from the Agricultural Academy and other scientists, workers, and various experts interested in farming. Besides, I myself, although coming from a peasant family and being a graduate of a secondary agricultural school, used to work in industry. Only after I had been fired in 1982 for being active in Solidarity, I leased a bit of land near Wroclaw and became a farmer. But all of us founders of Wici are linked by a common concern for Polish farming.

[Makohonski] Despite everything, peasants may also say of you that you are trying to make decisions for them without their participation. Besides, even if they have academic titles, how can the urban dwellers belonging to your movement know how to make peasants happy?

[Makowski] Nothing like that; we are not acting in a vacuum. To be sure, we have 47 regular registered members, but in addition we have many honorary and ancillary members. We are not disclosing their names, but taken together they represent considerable intellectual potential. These persons hold various influential posts in the administration, in state offices relating to agriculture, in industry, and in science. They all want to serve farming and are trying to reach decisionmakers at various levels in order to influence the resolution of various issues in a manner favorable to the food industry. And as for our "ensigns" in the countryside, they are doing the same thing at the gmina level with regard to less important issues and, most importantly, they keep voivodship senators and us posted about actual rural needs and the postulates of farmers and their economic situation.

[Makohonski] History repeats itself. This form of infiltrating various ruling circles and influential organizations and winning over influential adherents by clandestine methods recalls the techniques used by the freemasons in centuries past.

[Makowski] The two organizations are not comparable because the differences are too big. But I must admit that we indeed are not interested in holding mass meetings and conventions or establishing organizational cells and issuing membership cards, in contrast with other organizations and parties. We focus on effective action without all that organizational ballast.

[Makohonski] That is, the end sanctifies the means. But would not it be worthwhile to define more precisely the aims of your organization?

[Makowski] I believe that in this case both the means and the ends merit recognition and support. Wici members have been frequently intervening in matters of

concern to discrete villages or farmers when the decisions of the gmina or other authorities are unfavorable to them. But we are not acting solely as "fire brigades," rushing here and there to cure local ills. Above all, our organization is attempting to resolve the current enormously difficult and complex problems of Polish farming. We are trying to view rural issues more broadly, in the context of food processing and the industry manufacturing means of production for agriculture. Unless these matters are resolved comprehensively, the working and living conditions of the peasantry cannot be improved. Besides this concerns not just the peasantry alone. I believe that the expansion of food output, which requires relatively smaller outlays than other branches of the economy, will enable our country to acquire the resources for the restructuring and modernization of various industrial subsectors as well as of other domains of life. A well-developed agriculture, along with the possibilities for exporting considerable farming surpluses, can be the motive power of our entire economy.

[Makohonski] For the time being the reality is different, because the demand for food on the domestic market is shrinking and we still have not succeeded in winning foreign markets for our products.

[Makowski] That is precisely why we desire to reorganize food processing, crop procurements, and trade, which still operate on the basis of old principles. Their present structures result in higher prices and thereby erect a barrier to demand. Consider just one example: One kilogram of flour serves on the average to make 1.3 kilograms of bread. Including other expenses and the baker's profit margin, the price of a loaf of bread should be 1,300 zlotys. Yet at present we are paying 3,000 zlotys a loaf and, of necessity, many families are limiting their consumption of baked goods. This also applies to other processed foods, such as dairy products. We have therefore criticized the manner in which 800 billion zlotys in state subsidies was spent last year on restructuring the dairy industry. Those funds could have been used to modernize 40 dairies, but they were spent on something different, namely, on subsidizing inefficient and bureaucratized structures of the dairy industry, so that no one has benefited from that subsidy. This injection of money was sensed the least of all by milk producers and consumers.

[Makohonski] As can be seen, it is difficult to accomplish positive changes in the food industry despite the efforts of Wici and other activists of the farm lobby. Might not it thus be time to dispatch bundles of willow rods and summon peasants in order to determine at last how to rescue farming?

[Makowski] Of course, when other techniques of action fail, we convene national dietines on important issues. We already held one such dietine in the People's Hall. It was attended by 3,500 people from all over the country. Our "ensigns" in every Polish gmina could once again sound the rallying cry for groups of peasants willing to travel to the next dietine. But for the time being we stick

to those other modes of action which I already mentioned, and we hope that they will finally produce the desired results.

[Makohonski] Thank you for the interview.

### Informers' Identity Needed Before Elections

91EP0596B Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
3 Jul 91 p 2

[Article by (mdz): "Ties With the Security Service Must Be Disclosed"]

[Text] (Our own information.) On 2 July the Senate Commission for Human Rights and Compliance with the Law examined a draft legislative initiative concerning prosecution for Stalinist crimes and other crimes not prosecuted from 1944-89 due to an abuse of power.

According to the plans of the authors of the draft law, the proposed law is to supplement the law on the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Against the Polish Nation. The proposed law would make it possible to prosecute crimes that could no longer be prosecuted according to the law currently in effect because the final date for prosecution had already passed.

The experts invited by the commission claimed that in the case of these crimes, the expiration date did not apply because these crimes were not prosecuted at all when they were committed. Arguments against the retroactive operation of the law were also ruled out, since at the time these crimes were committed they violated the law.

The possibility of disclosing the names of those persons involved in cooperation with the Security Service [SB] was discussed. Senator Zbigniew Romaszewski spoke of the danger of filling the highest state positions with people from the old apparatus who had been associated with the special services. Senators cautioned against the possibility of the entry into parliament of persons who might yield to the pressures of the "neighboring super-power."

"Ties with the SB must be disclosed early on so as to avoid unverified charges during the electoral campaign," said the members of the commission. "To conceal this information is to make the MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] into a super-ministry that has access to data not available even to the interested parties themselves."

The commission recognized that it is necessary to obtain information from the MSW concerning the reliability of records in the Ministry's possession. The statement was also made that it is necessary to prepare a resolution regarding the need to disclose former SB collaborators who desire to hold a parliamentary seat.

### Reorganization of Ministry Proposed

91EP0596A Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish  
3 Jul 91 p 2

[Article by (AR): "A Ministry of Administration Instead of the Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] (Our own information.) At Tuesday's meeting of the government, Minister Krzysztof Zabinski, chief of the Office of the Council of Ministers, presented a draft for reform of the central state administration.

The draft calls for the creation of the office of a minister of public administration who would oversee the entire state administration as well as the police and fire-fighting services. The scope of administration of the new ministry would include verification of compliance of the operation of self-governments with the law. (This is called for in the law on legal competency currently in effect.) The Chancellery of the Council of Ministers would take over the direct assistance of government work. The Office of State Security would be separated from the modified MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs] and would be put under the direct control of the prime minister. Minister Zabinski expects the final version of the draft to be submitted for government approval in two weeks.

Government officials in attendance also became familiar with the draft law on state officials. This law provides for the creation of four categories of appointed officials and it requires these officials to take special examinations.

The Council of Ministers discussed the draft for a program of general privatization presented by the minister for ownership transformation affairs. There still remain consultations with trade unions regarding this program and it must be submitted for societal consultation. "We desire, above all, to create an active office for the privatized enterprises and to make use of Western experts in this office. The offices of national assets, depositories for citizens' shares in privatized property, will serve this specific end," said Minister Lewandowski.

The Council of Ministers granted guarantees for the repayment of credit amounting to 280 million francs incurred from the Banque de Paris. This credit had been designated for the computerization of Polish tax services by the Bull firm.

Minister of Justice Wieslaw Chrzanowski reported on the status of work on the law regarding special full powers to be granted to the government. This work will be completed today.

Following the government meeting, a brief press conference was given by Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz and French Minister of the Economy and the Budget Pierre Beregovoy, who is currently visiting Poland. Minister Beregovoy presented the Warsaw stock exchange with gifts in the form of computer equipment, and he expressed his appreciation for Leszek Balcerowicz's effective reform policy.

### Goals of Industrial Development Agency Noted

91EP0583A Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA (ECONOMY AND LAW supplement) in Polish 25 Jun 91 p 1

[Interview with Grzegorz Skarzynski, chairman of the Industrial Development Agency, by Ewa Zychowicz; place and date not given: "One's Own Example Is the Best"]

[Text] [Zychowicz] The Agency for Industrial Development arose from the transformation of the Fund for Structural Changes in Przemysl at the end of last year, taking over its functions. What are its main tasks?

[Skarzynski] The Agency acts under the auspices of the Ministry of Industry as a stock company. I would describe its activities as a mission whose task is to make it easier for those enterprises that are in a difficult situation to obtain additional money. We begin by making a diagnosis. Then we prepare a restructuring program and arrange financial and organizational assistance so as to finally bring about distinct improvement in the enterprise's condition.

[Zychowicz] Does functioning in the form of a company impose specific obligations on the Agency?

[Skarzynski] Of course. Such a form of economic organization demands, above all, effective action. This means that the criterion of our efficiency is primarily not to bring about a worsening of our own financial condition. If we are helping other companies to catch their breath, then we ourselves cannot have financial difficulties. After all, one's own example is the best. That is why it is important that we multiply the impact of our potential, which is not large.

[Zychowicz] What financial resources does the Agency have?

[Skarzynski] Our stock capital, amounting to 800 billion zlotys, was created from part of last year's budgetary funds designated for the restructuring of industry. Our reserve fund is made up of the assets of the Fund for Structural Changes in Przemysl and the budgetary funds that were not utilized in 1990. It amounts to 1,290 billion zlotys. The Agency's potential also lies in its employees, of whom there are too few. We employ scarcely 70 people.

[Zychowicz] Do enterprises turning to the Agency for assistance know what they can expect from you?

[Skarzynski] Our main problem is that enterprises regard us as quasi-budgetary officials and not as partners in the joint matter of improving their conditions. We, on our part, try to be as flexible as possible. We cooperate with many consulting firms and use auctions, attempting to match the criteria of their selection depending on the needs of a given enterprise. Our experience has shown that we are competitive on the consultation market, if only because we are not extremely grasping. We often

finance restructuring programs with deferred payments and provide easy access to foreign, well-known Western firms.

We try to service the full restructuring cycle and not simply diagnose and institute programs—of which I already spoke—but also organize training programs and select the management staff. Such joint participation in seeking sources for financing programs is important, including the commitment of our own funds—right now in the form of loans, and with time, in the form of guaranteed credits. We also intend to conduct liquidation and corrective procedures on behalf of the Ministry of Industry, but this kind of activity still requires a great deal of preparation.

[Zychowicz] Regional development agencies also play a very important role in the activities of your company.

[Skarzynski] We are organizing them as part of our offers directed at the regions most threatened by unemployment. Supporting a network of such agencies is an element in the building of an infrastructure of entrepreneurship, which is one of our goals.

[Zychowicz] But reports are coming in from the field that there is no coordination between the actions of the central organization, i.e., you, and the initiatives of the region.

[Skarzynski] From our viewpoint it appears to be exactly the opposite. Our goal is to organize a regional agency,

and not to hold it by the hand later. We are basing ourselves on the local initiatives, and they are the most important in this case, but unfortunately they are highly inadequate. The enterprises are looking to Warsaw instead of looking for solutions within themselves. It is often hard to communicate with the local authorities, which have fallen into a state of torpor and are unable to do anything. The latest example is the difficulty in organizing an Economic Development Bank in Walbrzych, where a regional agency already exists. We have money and are able to organize, but the talks go on into infinity.

[Zychowicz] The situation in the economy is changing, and the conditions for the functioning of enterprises has changed. Is the Agency ready to accompany them in these changes?

[Skarzynski] As I already said, we are flexible. We are adjusting to changes. We are developing new spheres of actions, e.g., assistance in the financial restructuring of enterprises. We envisage that we will be fully able to execute the planned functions beginning in the second half of this year. We must build our own internal structures and stabilize relations with those institutions that are cooperating with us. We are signing a credit agreement with the Polish Development Bank and the Bank for Socioeconomic Initiatives. We envisage that as time goes on these institutions will take over from us most of the programs dealing with financial support for restructuring actions.

**Moldovan Prime Minister Muravschi Interviewed**  
*91BA0896A Bucharest "22" in Romanian 21 Jun 91*  
*p 11*

[Unattributed interview with Valeriu Muravschi, prime minister of the Republic of Moldova; place and date not given: "This Government Will Not Be Anyone's Trinket"]

[Text]

**Without a Radical Transformation of the Economy, Independence Remains a Simple Illusion**

["22"] Mr. Prime Minister, East Europe is currently strongly debating whether economics are more important than politics, or vice-versa. What is your opinion regarding Moldova and the Soviet Union in general?

[Muravschi] At the present time, political problems are unfortunately more important, both with regard to each separate republic and to the USSR as a whole. One of these problems is the fierce struggle taking place between yesterday's and tomorrow's forces as part of this budding democratization. The future of our people depends on the outcome of this struggle. A second problem is the process leading to sovereignty, independence even, for some of the republics. These two are enough to unleash a bitter political battle, to which the economy unfortunately takes second place. My opinion is that if we succeed in undertaking concrete steps toward a market economy, many of the political problems, and even the problem of interrepublic relations, would lose their intensity and could be solved much more easily. Economics would also become more important because the majority of the republic's population is concerned with material well-being, maybe even more than with a restoration of the national identity, even though that still remains our primary goal. Let us not forget that we, in the Soviet Union, have already lost six years since the start of the 1985 restructuring, because we did not dare make essential changes in the economy. Not until last year did we reach the conclusion that no major changes are possible without a radical transformation of the economy.

["22"] One of your first statements as prime minister referred to the need to accelerate the reform process. How do you specifically intend to achieve this, given that until now the government's effort have been mired by the slow pace at which Parliament creates the necessary legislative support?

[Muravschi] Although perhaps not fully detailed in all respects, our reform program was presented a year ago. Our program may not have been extremely specific, but we must take into consideration that our situation is more difficult than Romania's for instance, which is a sovereign nation whose government can take any measures it considers appropriate, while Moldova, in this case, depends significantly if not entirely on others and does not have the same freedom of movement.

["22"] Is it external factors that have prevented Parliament from acting more promptly in formulating the legislation needed for reform?

[Muravschi] Of course not. Let us not forget that old and very influential administrative structures still exist, not to mention the mentality with which we have been inspired all our lives and which is opposed to such transformations. And let us not forget also, that the USSR has only one financial banking system. You can be a progressive among progressives, with a doctorate in market economy, and you still could not get much done under these conditions. But you are right about the Parliament....

["22"] Very well. And how will you proceed now?

[Muravschi] At the last session of Parliament, when I presented my position, I insisted that the creation of this legislative framework was of the greatest urgency. We most urgently need laws for the financial reform and for privatization, which are the keystones of the reform.

**We Will Help People Help Themselves**

["22"] Specifically, what will be the stages of the reform in the coming months?

[Muravschi] Our anticrisis program, as it is sometimes known, provides for the privatization of trade, of the service sphere in general, of small enterprises, of unprofitable ones...

["22"] Do you intend to privatize unprofitable enterprises?

[Muravschi] First of all, let me tell you a little about our general concept of privatization. There are two versions: free privatization and privatization through sale. We support the second version, perhaps not 100 percent, because the people of course do not have sufficient financial resources. But the state will offer credits to encourage the purchase of shares by private citizens. As a result, work will also have a dual incentive: partly to pay back these credits, and partly to obtain a profit which will be directly reflected in a higher standard of living.

["22"] As far as I know, both Romania and Poland support the idea that only profitable enterprises must be privatized. In Poland, shares were sold for successful enterprises, and the Romanian prime minister has said that price liberalization will select the viable enterprises that must be privatized. There is even an idea that the rest of the enterprises should be helped toward a more rapid failure....

[Muravschi] No, we do not want to push them to failure. They do contribute something to the national production, a percentage that would be lost if they went bankrupt. We hope to make them profitable through privatization.

["22"] In addition to privatization, what else does your anticrisis program contain?

[Muravschi] Unfortunately, price liberalization, since we have no other way out. Because we are inevitably integrated into the larger country, our market is not protected by any border. If purchase prices increase two-fold in the Ukraine today, our economy crashes tomorrow. We are left with only the useless paper called rubles, which has been issued in considerable quantities.

["22"] This liberalization will probably impose some social protective measures.

[Muravschi] That is true. But my views on this are more special. I do not believe that we must assure social protection for everyone through income indexing. The state's concern must be demonstrated by creating an accessible framework of activities that would allow any man who is capable and willing to prosper to assert himself. You know how people have learned to think here: You work and the state thinks for you. Our fundamental intent is to correct this mentality. Lincoln was correct when he said that you never help people if you try to do for them that which they can and must do themselves. But we, of course, will assure social protection for those groups which do not have the ability to manage no matter what they do: retirees, students, those who live on fixed budgets. Income indexing will be used for them.

#### **The Treaty Will Not Prevent Moldova From Obtaining Its Independence**

["22"] What is your position on the treaty concluded between Romania and the USSR, which still remains to be ratified by the Romanian Parliament?

[Muravschi] Romania is a sovereign state, and so is the USSR; they therefore have the right to conclude any treaty they want. This cannot divert us from the firm path to independence upon which we have entered. The people will, of course, have the final word on this matter; my personal opinion is that independence can be declared at any time, but will remain a simple illusion without the existence of economic independence. Our major goal is to achieve this economic independence, which will make our dream possible.

["22"] Will you build an economic alternative?

[Muravschi] Yes. In addition to the cultural unity with Romania, which we consider indispensable, we will attempt to integrate our economy with that of our brothers, and even with that of more Western countries. We must, however, be realistic: In the economic world, self-interest predominates, and no one puts the welcome mat out for you. Moreover, we will create relations with the other republics, independently of the central government, economic relations that we will maintain independently of political circumstances. One example is the Ukraine, which I have visited together with President Snegur, specifically to establish such a relationship.

["22"] What should Romania do to help you?

[Muravschi] We understand that Romania has its own problems, but we should attempt to force this economic alternative. You are strong in some economic areas, and we are strong in others. We are neighbors, we have common interests, and we are also brothers. In the case of complications such as an economic blockade from the central government, we expect Romania's support.

#### **My Government Is Not Unstable**

["22"] Do you intend to undertake any political action to stabilize your government? As far as I know, you were accepted as prime minister by the limit of the necessary votes.

[Muravschi] That is true, and that is what makes this election more precious. What shall I tell you? I do not believe that the government is unstable. It is practically the same government, the same team, which will pursue the same politics. We intend, however, to be more strict, including in our relations with Parliament. We have called on everyone to join us to create a professional and constructive atmosphere, but at the same time it must be clear that this government will not be anyone's trinket.

#### **Romanian, Moldovan Foreign Ministers Meet at Border**

AU3107090191 Bucharest Programul Unu Radio  
Network in Romanian 0800 GMT 31 Jul 91

[Text] A few minutes ago our correspondent in Botosani reported that, in conformity with the 27 July agreement, a meeting began at the dam of Stinca-Costesti on the River Prut between the Foreign Affairs ministers of Romania, Adrian Nastase, and the Republic of Moldova, Nicolae Tiu, to examine, on the spot, the possibility of opening new border checkpoints as soon as possible to facilitate human contacts and local traffic of travelers and goods between the two states.

Afterward the two ministers will travel down the Prut River to inspect the other three border checkpoints that will be opened for traffic on the River Prut, that is, at Sculeni, Iasi County, Oancea-Cahul, and Giurgulesti-Galati.

#### **Iliescu Receives Lawyers' Delegation**

AU3007155691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English  
1438 GMT 30 Jul 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/7/1991—On Tuesday, July 30, President Ion Iliescu of Romania received at the Cotroceni Palace a delegation of the Steering Council of the Democratic Jurists' Union of Romania.

Aspects were highlighted of the union's activity so far so as to enhance jurists' contribution to the building of the state of law in Romania.

The union was shown to work for the achievement of a true separation of powers in the state, the consolidation of a justice independent from the political power and the creation of a democratic system of law by restructuring the whole legislation inherited from the totalitarian regime.

President Ion Iliescu showed receptivity to the aspects outlined on the occasion and promised support in the implementation of the envisaged scientific programmes.

### **Liberal Factions Merge in Cluj**

*AU3007165891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English  
1358 GMT 30 Jul 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/7/1991—The Cluj County branches of the National Liberal Party and of the Liberal Party (Young Wing) have concluded a Transylvanian Liberal Pact, to unify efforts made by all those sharing Liberal views in this part of Romania. The pact aims at a rejoinder of all Liberals in Romania.

### **Flood Disaster Report; Death Toll Grows**

*AU3007142691 Bucharest ROMPRES in English  
1008 GMT 30 Jul 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/7/1991—Bacau: The effects of the disastrous floods in Bacau County (east of Romania) have raised the death toll to 45, while 71 persons are reported missing, 1,000 houses destroyed and other 2,000 flooded.

Suceava—from Suceava (north-east), three dead and two missing persons have been reported so far, as well as over 500 farmsteads flooded, large crop areas devastated. The heavy rain of the past few days also damaged stretches of railroads and motor ways, dams, embankments, bridges and roads.

Traffic on the main railway route Bucharest-Suceava had to be interrupted in places.

Special relief teams are on site to assess the extent of damage, the building material requirements for repairs to ravaged households, the crops affected by flooding waters. Measures have been taken to provide locals with bread, milk, meat and meat preparations, bottled juice and mineral water, to prompt medical assistance for emergencies and for prevention of epidemics.

The rains that have poured lately broke the dam at Belei and flooded large areas of the town of Onesti (40 km south-west of Bacau, east-central Romania).

The rain having stopped, waters are receding. In the affected area special teams are freeing the ground from debris. Onesti itself has reported 2 casualties, of which 3 dead, 153 houses destroyed, 100 flooded, bridges damaged and other material losses.

Drinking water supplies are being disinfected and special care is taken to prevent epidemics.

### **Relief for Flood Victims Organized**

*AU3107104291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English  
0852 GMT 31 Jul 91*

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 31/7/1991—Wednesday, 31 July, the commandment for helping the victims of Moldova's floods met again at the Prefecture of the County of Bacau. It was established that 10,000 kg meat, 13,000 kg bread, 50,000 bottles of mineral water, important quantities of sugar, powder milk and other bare necessities be sent in the zone, supplied by charity organisations, economic agents, political parties and private persons. Actions have been taken for unblocking roads and repairing bridges, in order to resume traffic, which seem to be facilitated by improved weather conditions. According to weather forecasts there is no longer any danger of floods in the Siret area. The latest data say that the Siret waters have lowered, although 600 hectares of crops are still under water.

### Weekly Calls for Change in Croatian Policy

LD3007184691 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1315 GMT 30 Jul 91

[Text] Zagreb, July 30 (TANJUG)—The “policy towards Serbs was wrong,” the Zagreb weekly DANAS says today, calling for a thorough change which would secure a peaceful settling of the current armed conflicts.

If President Franjo Tudjman proposed a political, territorial and cultural autonomy for Serbs in Croatia, he would bear the “risk of a coup” which might end up with him being toppled, as the leading Zagreb weekly sets out.

“The proposal on autonomy, to be discussed in the Croatian parliament soon, will have its staunchest opponents in part of the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) which has definitely opted for war and in part of the Serbian policy and its extremist representatives,” DANAS says in a commentary.

“No matter how hard the Croatian leadership tries, the wave of dissatisfaction among the Croats is growing and genuinely threatening to carry off everything in its way, including those who until recently they praised,” the weekly sets out in another commentary.

“Increasingly panicky calls for help, sent out to the West, best illustrate the gravity of the situation, while resembling an act of the desperate,” DANAS says.

“Will the Croatian leadership’s offer to Serbs be received as a defeatism or as the last chance for peace,” the weekly asks. It points out that “the possibility of a near and final denouement without much bloodshed is almost nil,” and that “this could not be stopped either by a Yugoslav accord or an outside arbitration.”

“That Dr. Franjo Tudjman is becoming a tragic figure of Croatian policy is demonstrated by attacks on his until recently untouchable authority,” DANAS says in a third commentary.

It was evident in Tudjman’s speech following the Yugoslav state Presidency session in Ohrid recently that “he was being taken over by panic” and that “everything he said was that he would soon call to an all-out war,” DANAS sets out.

The weekly points out the necessity of establishing peace in a situation when even the “opposition, together with those in power, has firmly and almost without exception opted for war.”

### Split Paper Criticizes Croatian Inefficiency

LD3007184791 Belgrade TANJUG in English  
1245 GMT 30 Jul 91

[Text] Split, July 30 (TANJUG)—Daily SLOBODNA DALMACIJA of Split on Tuesday accused the Croatian authorities “that it was not efficient enough in the defense” of Croatia.

The Croatian president, the paper says, “cannot like the Olympian Zeus determine on his own the fate of all under his sceptre,” and the ruling Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) “can no longer bear the responsibility for the fate of the people living in Croatia.”

“It is time,” the paper says, “to turn amid greatest of temptations from autocracy to genuine, and not outward, democratic forms of authority in Croatia.”

The paper notes that “the defense of Croatia would in any case be a difficult one, but without unity around this goal would be totally uncertain.” It adds that this “unity should not be a pretext for subjecting to dictatorial authority,” but that the people should be led “by persons of undisputed authority among the entire threatened population.”

### Government Commission Assesses War Damage

91BA0900A Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK  
in Slovene 6 Jul 91 p 4

[Unattributed article: “Assessment of War Damage”]

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 Jul—Yesterday the Slovene Government named a special commission to assess the material damage caused by the JLA [Yugoslav People’s Army] on Slovene territory by means of its aggression. According to the initial assessments, which were presented at yesterday’s press conference by Leo Seserko, the Slovene deputy prime minister, the direct material damage amounts to \$2.7 billion, i.e., somewhat more than 94 billion dinars. That is approximately 40 percent more than this year’s republic budget. In the area of transportation and communications, the war damage is almost \$190 million, and at facilities at border crossings it is \$15.67 million, but there is also enormous damage, of course, in health care, commerce, agriculture, energy, industry, and construction; in tourism alone indirect damage of \$800 million has also been estimated as a result of the drop in the tourist season.

Transportation and Communications	
Highway economy	\$ 49,500,000
Highway traffic	\$ 17,800,000
Railroad economy	\$ 1,100,000
Postal, telephone, and telegraph traffic	\$ 3,700,000
Air traffic	\$110,100,000
Airports	\$ 500,000
Transmitters and converters	\$700,000,000
Total	\$189,700,000
Facilities at Border Crossings	
Facilities and equipment	\$ 4,700,000
Costs of defense	\$152,000,000
Total	\$156,700,000
Health care	\$ 13,000,000



Transportation and Communications (Continued)	
Commerce	\$ 17,000,000
Agriculture	\$ 4,300,000
Energy	\$ 10,200,000
Tourism	
Direct damage	\$ 20,000,000
Indirect—decline in the tourist season	\$ 800,000,000
Industry and construction	\$ 304,000,000
Decline in the social product	\$1,200,000,000
Total damages	\$2,714,900,000 or 94,200,000,000 dinars

**Slovene Chamber of Economy Helps Enterprises**  
*91BA0900B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 6 Jul 91 p 4*

[Interview with France Horvat, president of the Slovene Chamber of Economy, by Ivan Gerencer; place and date not given: "The Way To Save the Economy"]

[Text] Radenci, 5 Jul—"It is now clear that it is also a question of economic survival in Slovenia. We will have to postpone the economy's payment of taxes and all contributions, so that it can recover as soon as possible. Among other things, we will have to freeze wage increases temporarily, and at the same time ensure at least the regular payment of guaranteed wages, so that people will be able to live and survive the crisis period. We also have to adopt an immediate moratorium on enterprise bankruptcies." This was how France Horvat, the president of the Slovene Chamber of Economy, assessed the emergency, i.e., wartime situation in the Slovene economy. He is convinced that the Slovene economy has already suffered several hundred million dollars in direct damage because of the war, as has also been indicated by the approximate estimates gathered so far.

[Gerencer] What are you doing at this time to keep the damage from increasing further?

[Horvat] Now the question is the bare survival of the Slovene economy. The republic and regional economic chambers are in constant contact with foreign partners since the fate of our economy depends to a great extent

upon exports. I can already state now that the economic associations and chambers, and also our enterprises' direct partners, have a great deal of understanding for our difficulties. I can even assert that they are supporting us in our efforts, but it is true that because of the war situation they are afraid for their goods and money. Long-term arrangements between our enterprises and foreign partners are in the greatest danger, and so we are constantly keeping them informed about the situation here. In that way we will also preserve their confidence in our ability to do business. It is clear that exports are the way to save our economy.

[Gerencer] What is our economic cooperation with the other republics in Yugoslavia like during the war situation?

[Horvat] I have been in constant contact with the leaderships of the economic chambers of all the republics since the first day of the war. I have been keeping them constantly informed about the situation in Slovenia. I maintain that they understand the situation that has arisen, but it is true that in recent days financial discipline has become even worse. There is a great shortage of money, among other things because of the blockade and Slovenia's dispute with the National Bank of Yugoslavia. We will have to reach an agreement with the republic chambers about how to pay for goods that are sold. One possibility is agreements between enterprises and commodity exchange, and another is agreements among the republic governments. I still cannot confirm a final assessment about whether Slovenia is experiencing a complete financial blockade at this time, but it is true that in recent days the financial conditions for doing business with other republics have essentially deteriorated.

[Gerencer] What measures have been taken by the Chamber for immediate assistance to Slovene enterprises?

[Horvat] In addition to what has been stated, since the very beginning we have been trying to help the enterprises that have asked us for assistance. Together with the republic government and individual ministries we are trying to ensure transportation routes at home and in neighboring countries for the unhindered transportation of goods, raw materials, and products. We are also providing enterprises with all the necessary documents, including those that were previously under federal jurisdiction.

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